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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.
VOLUME XII.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
 O R,
 MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
 RELATING TO
 ANTIQUITY.
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

O R,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

- I. *Antiquities discovered in Derbyshire. In a Letter from Hayman Rooke, Esq. F. S. A. to the Rev. Dr. Pegge, F. S. A.*

Read November 21, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

Mansfield Woodhouse, Dec. 27, 1793:

THE following account of some Roman antiquities lately discovered near Hopton, which Mr. Gell was so obliging as to reserve for my inspection, I did intend to have had the honour of presenting to the Society; but, as it will be rendered more acceptable by the addition of your learned observations, I shall solicit for its admittance into your interesting account of Roman antiquities (*Derbeieffcir Romana*), which I hope you intend to continue. I am, dear Sir,

Your sincere and obliged humble servant,

H. R O O K E.

VOL. XII.

B

Nº 1.

N° 1. Pl. I. is an iron head of a spear, found in a romantic valley which extends about three miles, where Mr. Gell is now making a road from Hopton Moor to Ible.

N° 2. appears to be the head of an arrow found near the above.

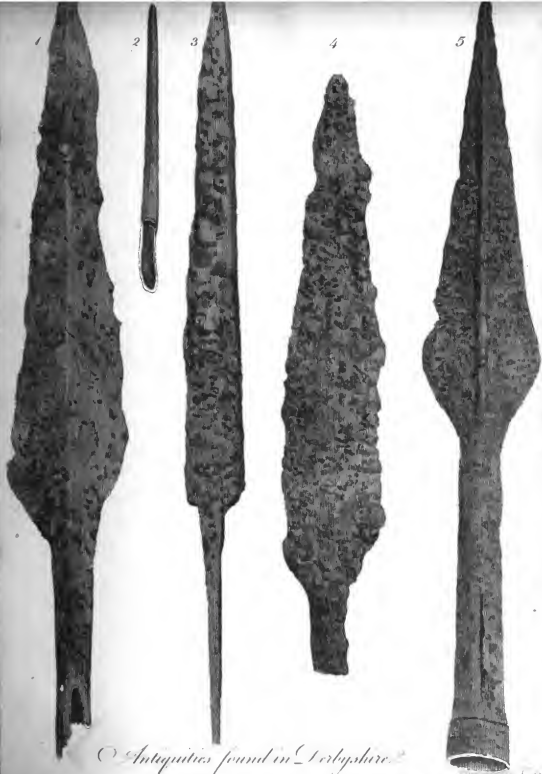
N° 3. seems to be an iron dagger found in removing the earth in the same valley.

N° 4. an iron head of a spear, much corroded with rust, found in making the new road.

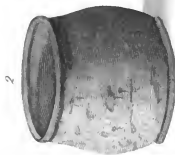
N° 5. is another iron head of a spear the size of the drawing found near the above in June, 1792.

N° 1. Pl. II. was found in November, 1791, in the same valley, and about three feet under ground; this very singular-shaped instrument appears to be marble, of a light colour, tinged with yellow, and a mixture of pale red and green veins, and, what is very extraordinary, it still retains a fine polish; the edges are thin, rising gradually to about the thickness of half an inch in the middle; from its shape and size it could not have been used as a weapon, but I think it might very possibly be the instrument used by the Aruspices, who examined the entrails of the victims that were sacrificed, which were always carefully surveyed.

It is very remarkable, that these spear-heads should be found covered with stones three feet below the surface in this sequestered valley, where there are no traces of a Roman road or remains of Roman barrows; but, as Mr. Gell's letter to me on this subject will be more satisfactory than my conjectures, I shall here send you a copy of it: "I should not dare to venture a conjecture with any Antiquary excepting yourself, whose candour I have so frequently had occasion to experience, and which I must now trespass upon again by risking an opinion of the means of these implements coming to the strange place



Antiquities found in Derbyshire



(Antiquities found in Yorkshire)

place where they are discovered ; in my almost daily solitary rides down the valley, my thoughts have been almost always employed (when near the place) upon their being found in a situation where it is impossible there could have ever been either camp, station, or habitation of any kind, except, perhaps, an hermitage, where no traveller ever set his foot before the present time ; that they should be found here is certainly extraordinary ; but, as you have clearly proved that the Romans have been in this neighbourhood, it may be fairly concluded, that, in their attempts to proceed farther, they met with interruptions from the Britons, who, most probably, attacked them in this defile with showers of stones, and this appears to me the most probable method of accounting for these being covered with stones of the size for the purpose of throwing."

About a mile South of the above-mentioned valley, on a rising ground near Hopton, is a very large barrow called Abbot's Low, the circumference of which is 196 feet. As the labourers were preparing this for a plantation, they discovered an urn, which Mr. Gell was so obliging as to order should not be touched till I came to Hopton. In May last we proceeded to examine the urn, and after removing the stone, N^o 2, which covered it, and clearing away the ground to the depth of five feet from the top, and about eighteen inches below the natural soil, I got a distinct view of the urn, which was four feet three inches in circumference, made of coarse baked earth, and full of burnt bones and ashes, in attempting to take it up, it fell to pieces. See the shape of the urn in drawing N^o 3. The stone which covered this urn, see N^o 2, measures on the top two feet six inches by one foot eight inches, and about nine inches thick, it appears to be a soft yellowish free stone, and much cor-

B 2

roded ;

roded; in rubbing off the dirt from the top, which had filled up the interstices of the letters, I discovered an inscription, a fac simile of which is on the stone N° 7. There evidently appears to have been more letters above, but they are now so defaced by time, that nothing can be made out, though very possibly they might have been the letters of the prænomen; the inscription seems to be intended for *Gellius Præfectus Cohortis Tertiæ Legionis Quintæ Britannicæ*, but it does not appear, by any Roman author, that the fifth legion was ever in Britain, though Mr. Gordon mentions [a] a stone with the V. legion upon it, found in the fort at Grot hill in Scotland; he says, "I likewise found another very rare and curious stone with the following letters upon it, *Leg. V.* from the letters, two angular borderings appear on each side of the stone, so close and plain, that it leaves no room to doubt of its being read *Legio Quinta*; nor is there any space whatsoever for another letter to have been put in. I take this to be an invaluable rarity of its kind, being the only stone that ever I found in the island of Britain with the name of the fifth legion impressed upon it." ▷ LEGV ◁

But Horsley seems to be of a different opinion. He says: "But though there be no space between the letters and the angular borderings on each side, yet why may it not be read *legio victrix*, and by it be meant the *legio sexta victrix*? which, by the following inscription (*Legio sexta victrix fecit*) appears to have been at this very fort; as there was no room for VI. and V. (*sexta* and *victrix*) it is more likely that the number should be omitted, than the honourable title or epithet; especially since in this case the title would sufficiently distinguish them without the number. Besides, the *legio quinta* is a Legion unheard of in Britain [b]." Hence I think

[a] Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 56.

[b] Horsley's Britannia Romana, p. 200.

there

there is great reason to suppose, that this (V) on the stone which covered the urn, was intended for *victrices*, the title of the sixth legion, which probably remained some time in Derbyshire before they marched to the North.

The finding of an inscription on a rough undressed stone covering an urn in a barrow, is, I think, a curious discovery, for I do not recollect, in any account that has been written on Urn Burial, or on Sepulchral Inscriptions, that one has been found in a similar situation; it is also remarkable, that the prefect's name should be Gellius, and that the urn which contained his ashes should be deposited in a barrow on Mr. Gell's estate. Could Mr. Gell's family be descended from this antient Roman?

The Peak of Derbyshire abounds also with natural curiosities. Drawing N° 3 is part of a remarkable large horn; the pith, or flough, only remains, the horny part being entirely rotted off; circumference at (a) one foot four inches, at (b) one foot ten inches, length from (c) to (d) one foot eight inches; it was found in making the tunnel of the Cromford canal, near Butterly; from the great size this horn must have been of when perfect, I think it cannot be appropriated to any species of animals now extant in this country.

Drawing N° IV. is a piece of pure native lead perfectly refined, it evidently appears, from the number of pendent drops, to have been melted and formed by a subterraneous fire; it was found hanging by the top (a) to the roof of a small cavity about thirty yards deep in a mine near Alport; it weighs two pounds five ounces, and is the size of the drawing. It has been observed by naturalists, that native gold and silver have been found in mines, but a specimen of native lead has never, till now, been discovered.

II. Roman

II. Roman *Antiquities at and near Bradburn in the County of Derby. In a second Letter from Hayman Rooke, Esq. to the Rev. Dr. Pegge.*

Read December 12, 1793.

Mansfield Woodhouse, August 27, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN I was last at Hopton, I went again to examine those three singular sculptured stones in the church-yard at Bradburn; two of these (see plate III. N^o 1 and 2) are fixed in a wall so near together as to form a narrow pass, the common way of making stiles in Derbyshire; the other is placed as a corner-stone in the foundation of the porch, which evidently appears to be coëval with the church.

On examining the grounds round the church-yard, I plainly traced a ditch and vallum on the North and on the West side, where they extend across the Ashbourn road through some meadows to a valley. They are also distinguishable on the East side, but on the South side there are hardly any traces of either, having been destroyed by buildings and fences; this inclosure takes in a hill, near the summit of which the church was built; the apex plainly appears to have been sloped down on the side next the church, to level the ground for the foundation. There is, I think, great reason to suppose, that this spot might have been an expository

No 1.



No 2.



No 3.



Ancient Stones in Brudbourn Church Yard?

the inclosures ; on the North side they may be traced near 400 yards ; on the East and West sides I could discern but very little of the ditch and vallum, at least not sufficient to ascertain the size of the camp ; within this enclosure and near the top, is what they call the *Lombard piece*, where, about twenty years ago, an urn was found which contained near eighty coins, chiefly Denarii, most of them of the Upper Empire ; here are also the remains of several small enclosures, but they are now so destroyed by taking away the stones for walls, that I could only get the exact dimensions of one, which encloses a space of twenty seven yards by ten ; but, as they were more perfect when Mr. Pilkington examined them six or seven years ago, I shall give you his account of them.

“ About half a mile North of the village may still be seen
 “ some faint vestiges of a Roman encampment or station,
 “ at a place called *Lombard green*, it is of an oblong form,
 “ and occupies a space of about half an acre. It consists of
 “ several divisions made by walls, the foundations of which
 “ are in many parts still visible ; the size and shape of these
 “ divisions are various, they are oblong, semi-circular, and
 “ square, the number is about twelve ; perhaps there might
 “ formerly have been more, for these do not all lie together.
 “ This supposition is rendered very probable by considering,
 “ that the ground has been disturbed at different times by
 “ the miners in pursuing veins of lead ore. It was a circum-
 “ stance of this kind, from which it was discovered, that this
 “ was a Roman encampment [b].”

Here is, my dear Sir, a large field for conjecture, and I shall venture to trespass on your patience by hazarding one or two. Might not this station have been the *Parvus Vicus* of the Romans, whence the village of Perwich took its

[b] View of the present State of Derbyshire, vol. II. p. 284.

name? which is situated in a bottom half a mile South of the station. The *Lombard piece* might possibly have been the quarters of an auxiliary cohort of the Lombards before they invaded Italy upon the decline of the Roman empire. It is true, we do not find this cohort mentioned in any of the inscriptions found in Britain, nor is it to be met with in the Notitia. *Horsley* tells us, "there are eight cohorts mentioned both in inscriptions and the Notitia; fourteen are found only in inscriptions, and nine in the Notitia only, which make the whole number of cohorts in Britain thirty-one, but it does not appear that these cohorts were all in Britain at the same time, because some of them relate to different ages [c]." Nor do we know, with any certainty, what auxiliary cohorts belonged to each legion. I think it is not improbable, that the above-mentioned corps might have been an equestrian cohort; we find "that the word *ala* is sometimes used by the best Roman writers to express the whole body of auxiliary forces, both horse and foot, but most frequently denotes only the auxiliary horse [d]." There were eight of these *alae* in Britain, one of them, the *Ala Petriana*, appears to have taken its name from the station *Peiriana*, or *Cambeck fort*. The Lombard cohort might possibly have been removed soon after its arrival at *Parvus Vicus* to one of the stations *per liniam valli*, and there change its name.

Where no certain conclusion can be deduced from scattered remains of remote antiquity, conjectures may be allowable, the probability of these I shall now leave to the consideration of a more learned Antiquary.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate,

and obliged humble servant,

H. R O O K E.

[c] *Horsley's Brit. Rom.* p. 91.

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[d] *Ibid.* p. 92.

C

III. A.

III. *An Attempt to illustrate the Figures carved in Stone on the Porch of Chalk Church. By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. A. S.*

Read February 6, 1794.

THERE having been published in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* [a] an engraving of the porch of Chalk church from the correct pencil of Mr. Tracy, Mr. Clarke declined sending a view of it, when he transmitted for the inspection of the Society his other drawings of different parts of that edifice [b]; but it was my desire that he would favour me with the delineation now exhibited *, conceiving it to be a suitable accompaniment to them. And I had, as an additional motive for my request, the hope of obtaining a satisfactory elucidation of the subject represented from a person, who, I knew, was very conversant in architectural embellishments. In this instance, however, I did not succeed, Mr. Clarke acknowledging in his answer, that he could not account for a sculptured relief so improperly placed. Nor did Mr. Thorpe propose an illustration of it, he observing on these strange and whimsical ornaments, that “such chimerical dressings convey little, if any, meaning or design, and seem to have been merely the effects of rude caprice, and fantastical humour of the architects and sculptors of those times.” But, as I suspect, the terms *chimerical*, *little meaning*

[a] N° VI. part I. plate III. N° III. p. 13.

[b] Engraved in vol. XI. pl. XIV. XV. p. 365, & seq.

* See plate IV.



*Figure carved in Stone
on the porch of Chalk church, Kent.*

or *design*, *rude caprice*, and *fantastical humour*, may not be strictly appropriate; the objects carved not being merely the creatures of the imagination of the artist, but worked from the life, with an endeavour to perpetuate countenances and actions not unfrequently displayed in this cemetery.

Wakes, or anniversaries, on the festival of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, and fairs, which originated from them, were in former ages usually kept in churchyards, and sometimes in churches; by which, as was a matter of complaint, "Goddess house was made a tavern of gluttons [*c*]." We read also of *scotales* and *giveales*, appellations deemed by several writers to be always used synonymously, but between which, I think, I can occasionally trace marks of distinction.

Scotales were, as the word imports, maintained by a joint contribution of the resorters to them. Thus the tenants of South Malling in Suffex, which belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury, were, at the keeping of a court, to entertain the lord or his bailiff with a drinking, or an ale, and the stated quotas towards the charge were, that a man should pay three pence halfpenny for himself and his wife, and a widow and a cottage three halfpence. And in the manor of Terring in the same county, and under the same jurisdiction, it was the custom for the tenants named to make a *scotale* of sixteen pence halfpenny, and to allow out of each sixpence three halfpence to find drink for the bailiff [*d*].

Common *scotales* in taverns, at which the clergy were not to be present, are noticed in several ecclesiastical canons. They were not to be published in the church by the clergy or

[*c*] Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*, p. 613.

[*d*] Somner's *Treatise on Gavelkind*, p. 29.

the laity [*e*]; and a meeting of more than ten persons of the same parish or vicinage was a *scotale* that was in general prohibited [*f*]. There were also common drinkings, in the mentioning of which the prefix *scot* was omitted, and instead of it was inserted a word which denoted the special purpose which occasioned the computation. *Leet-ale*, *bride-ale*, *clerk-ale*, *church-ale*, are instances in point. To a leet-ale it is likely all the residents in a manorial district were contributors; and the expence of a bride-ale was probably defrayed by the relations and friends of a happy pair, who were not in circumstances to bear the charges of a wedding-dinner. The clerk's ale was in the Easter holidays, and was the method taken to enable clerks of parishes to collect more readily their dues; or, as it is expressed in Aubrey's MS History of Wilts, as cited by Mr. Warton in his History of English Poetry, "it was for the clerk's private benefit and the solace of the neighbourhood [*g*]."

Mr. Warton has likewise copied from the Dodsworth MS. the following extract from an old indenture made before the Reformation, which shews the design of a church-ale. "The

[*e*] A. 1223. Constitut. Ricardi Poore, epi. Sarum. Prohibemus quoque ne denunciationes scotallorum fiant in ecclesia per laicos, nec in ecclesiis, nec extra ecclesias per sacerdotes, vel per clericos, Wilkins' Concil. Magn. Britan. v. I. p. 600.

A. 1229. Constitut. W. de Bleys epi. Wigorn. ne sacerdotes ad tabernam accedant, nec in ecclesiis hujusmodi potationes denuncientur. Ibid. p. 624.

A. 1237. Constit. Alex. (de Stavenby) Coventr. Episc. Item inhibemus sub pena dimidiæ marcæ, ne quis sacerdos ad tabernam eat, vel tabernam teneat, vel scotales. Ibid. p. 642. — A. 1240. Constit. W. de Cantilupo epi. Wigorn. Et quod nullus clericus intersit computationibus quæ vocantur scotales. Ibid. p. 672.

[*f*] A. 1256. Constitut. Ægid. de Bridport epi. Sarum. Communes autem computationes declaramus, quoties numerum denarium excesserant ejusdem parochie, in qua cervisia venalia extiterit, vel etiam vicinarum in tabernis hujusmodi, vel infra septa ejusdem domicilii potandi gratia commorantur. Ibid. p. 719.

[*g*] Vol. III. p. 128, note *f*.

"pa-

“ parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derbyshire,
 “ agree jointly to brew four ales, and every ale of one quarter
 “ of malt, betwixt this and the feast of St. John the Baptist
 “ next coming. And that every inhabitant of the said town
 “ of Okebrook shall be at the several ales. And every hus-
 “ band and his wife shall pay two pence, every cottager
 “ one penny; and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have
 “ and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the
 “ said ales to the use and behoof of the said church of El-
 “ veston. And the inhabitants of Elveston shall brew eight
 “ ales betwixt this and the feast of St. John Baptist, at which
 “ ales the inhabitants of Okebrook shall come and pay as be-
 “ fore rehearsed. And if he be away at one ale, to pay at
 “ oder ale for both, &c.”

The different ales above specified were, as I already re-
 marked, supported by joint contributions, and most of them,
 in a greater or less degree, compulsory. But the *giveales*,
 which I have principally in view, were the legacies of indi-
 viduals, and from that circumstance entirely gratuitous;
 though some of them might be in addition to a common
 giveale before established in the parish [b].

If

[b] “ St. Mary’s in Hoo. Test. Will. Hamond. Alsoe I will, that specially my
 feoffees and executors see that the yeovale of St. James be kept for ever, as it hath
 bin here aforetime.” Stowell’s extracts of gifts to charitable uses from wills
 in the registry of the diocese of Rochester, printed in Thorpe’s Antiquities,
 page 41. “ Hoo. Test. Thomas Beadle, of Gevall house, lying at Grenehill,
 prout wardens and the brethren of the Gevall.” Ibid. p. 47. “ Hoo Alhallows, Test.
 John Devell. Also I will that the geavale of Alhallows in Hoo have one acre of
 land after my wife’s decease to maintain it withal, called Pilehland, and that to be
 done after the olde custom of olde time.” Ibid. p. 46. “ Jo. Bromley, subtrahit
 de la gifeale xviiiis. a lumine beate Marie apud Woldham.” Acta Archid. Roffen.
 1524, Sept. 28, fol. 73. 2.—“ Thomas Gate et Rogerus Gilwyn, visit’ apud
 Woldham.—Habent ad proband. quod Johannes Beaulley, gen. subtrahit de-la
 Gif

If an adequate judgement can be formed from Stowell's Extracts of Wills entered in the Register's office of the diocese of Rochester, testamentary giveales must have been very numerous in England. In several clauses the word occurs [*i*]; but, when the bequest was of malt or of barley, the use to which it was to be converted is obvious.

A dole of bread, with, now and then, a small quantity of cheese and other *corrodies*, is also mentioned in the same bequest [*k*]. Charity was suggested as a pretence for collecting some of the scotales; but, in the testamentary giveales, the dis-

Gif Ale continuat' usque diem Jovis in vigil. S. Catharine; quo die comparuit Joh. Beasley—et quoad de la Gif Ale dicit, quod obtulit parochianis iiii quarter. brassi pret. Angl. quater vis. viid. et quod omnino recusabant." Ibid. fol. 86. b. 91. a.

[*i*] "Snodland: Test. John Holman. Item volo, &c. unam acram terre, imperpetuum—inveniend. inde annuatim de proventus duos bushel' brasoi, et unum bushel' frumenti pro quodam giveale paroch' de Snodland in festo purific'." Thorpe's Antiquities, p. 39.—"Hoo. Test. Petri Sampson. Alfoe I will that Harrie Compton have 1 acr' et dim. land, to the intent that he keep a yevale every other year on the feast of St. Michael, at every time to be dispended vi. bushel of wheate bread, and x bushel of mault in ale, &c." Ibid. p. 39.—"St. Mary's. Test. Tho. Tomys. Also I will and give that Joane my daughter shall have house and land, with condition, that she, or else some other in her name, keepe or doe a yevall upon St James's day, and to this yevall I bind this land whomever have it without end." Ibid. p. 40.—"Hoo. Test. Steph. Sprake. Alfoe I will, that Alice my wife shall have my house and land, and marsh, doeing yearly the charge of a yevale at Alhallon tide for evermore." Ibid. p. 43.

[*k*] "Hoo. Test. Stephen Jacob. I will that my heires shall have five yards of land lying in Longfield, and five yards in Pettefield, upon condition that they make a yerely geveall on Trinity Sunday of 5 bushels of wheat, and 1 seame of barley, and xiid in cheese." Ibid. p. 41. "Warringbury. Test. James Williams xiiis. iiid. for ever. Churchwardens, and 4 or 6 of the parishioners to be infeofed in lands to the use of his will." Ibid. p. 47.—"Cowling. Test. Thomas Love. To his heirs male for evermore, to this intent, to keepe and maintayne in the church of Cowling to the value of 4 bushel of wheat and 4 bushel of mault, and xvid. in cheese or fish, &c." Ibid. p. 47.

tribution

tribution of them to the poor was frequently enjoined, though from the largeness of the quantity brewed it must have been intended, that neighbours, who were not of the indigent class, should participate in them [1].

The most luxurious treat of the kind recorded in Stowel's Extracts was at East Greenwich, pursuant to the will of John Champnis, who bequeathed three shillings in bread, two shillings in spice-bread, a barrel of ale, a gallon of malmesey, two pounds of comfitts, and twenty pence in cheefe, six shillings and eight pence in wood and cole, six shillings and eight pence in money, and twenty pence to the ——— and wardens to see it donn for ever [m]. That the poor had the spice-bread, comfitts, and Malmesey wine, is not so probable a surmise, as that the wardens and their friends were regaled with this choice fare.

Giveales differ likewise materially from the common scot-ales in their having been so much blended with notions and practices of a superstitious tendency; for the bequests were frequently to the light, or altar of a saint, with directions for singing of masses at the obit, trental, or anniversary of the death of the testator [n]. Lands were settled for the per-

[1] "Freindsbury. Test. Joh. Toppe. Item voluit quod un' acr' et un' virgat' terre que jacet apud Westbush—ollam cervisie ad refecconem vicinorum in vigil' S. Joh'is Baptiſt' singulis annis imperpetuum." Ibid. p. 39.

[m] Thorpe's Antiquities, p. 47.

[n] A. 1524. Jun. 1. Gardini Luminis S. Hildeford de Swancomb, contra Rob. Clark et Agneten uxor' ejus pro 4 quarter. brasiei." Asta Archid. Roffen. fol. 49. a.—"Lumini Sti. Nich. de Cobham, et beatæ Mariæ debentur multa quarter. ordeï et brasii." Ibid. fol. 91. a.—"Freindsbury. Test. Will. Marchant. Item, volo quod Robertus filius meus habeat tres acres terræ ad terminum vite sue, sub conditione quod disponat annuatim in die anniversarii mei iii bushel' frumenti et 1 bushel' brasii in exequiis; et post decessum dicti Roberti volo quod supradict. tres acræ remaneant ecclesiæ de Friendsbury prædictæ imperpetuum. Ita quod ejusdem

perpetual payment of the legacies so appropriated, and in consequence became vested in the crown by the statute of 1 Edward VI. which will account for its now being very difficult to trace the lands enfeoffed, and for the general discontinuance of the giveales, which were to be supported by the profits of them. The parish of St. John Baptist in the Isle of Tenet is, however, possessed of upwards of fifteen acres of land acquired by a legacy bequeathed for a giveale by Etheldred Barrow, in the year 1513, there not having been any directions for the performance of masses. Mr. Lewis has not mentioned the special use to which the rent of this land is applied, but from the manner of writing it may be

dem custodes ecclesie disponent annuatim, &c." Thorpe's Antiq. p. 40.—"Cliffe. Test. Rob. Quikerell. I will that a state be made by my feoffees of and in all my lands in Cowling, to twelve or more persons, as the wardens and parishioners of Clive will name, under condition that the said wardens shall employ for ever all the said lands and tenements, to doe an obit in Clive church, and as much bread as will be made of three bushels of wheat, as much ale of 4 bushels of mault, in cheefe xxxd. for ever, &c." Ibid. p. 42.—"Shorne. Test. Will. Hawke, I bequeath to John Hawke, my brother, xlii acres of land, and to his heirs for ever, with this condition, that the said John hold and keepe, or make to keepe yearly, in the church of Shorne, an obit yearly, &c. And I will there be spent in bread 4 bushel of wheat, and a quarter of mault in drink, &c." Ibid. p. 43. "Hoo. Test. Joh. Winbray. First, I will that A. my wife have my house for terme of her life, and she to keepe an obit every yeere, and to be spent in bread a bushel of wheat, and in ale a bushel of malt, &c." Ibid. p. 44. "Shorne. Test. Joh. Hawke. I will that an obit be kept yearly in the parish church of Shorne on Relicke Sunday, by the heir of the time being of my land, a quarter of mault, &c. and half a quarter of wheat, &c. for ever." Ibid. p. 45.—"Stoke. Test. Joh. Hamond. Item, I will that always be kept an obit once a year in lent, of a quarter of wheat and a quarter of malt, from heir to heir, for evermore, out of lands in Oysterland borowe." Ibid. p. 45.—"Hallow. Test. Rich Francis. An obit every Passion Sunday for ever of 6 bushel of wheat, and 6 bushel of mault." Ibid. p. 49.—"Freindsbury. Test. Joh. Devenish. I will that every yeare perpetuall John Devenish doe an obit for me of 6 bushel of wheat and 8 bushel of mault, and the said land to pay it, whoever occupy it, from yeare to yeare." Ibid. p. 50.

inferred, that there is not every year on St. James's day a distribution of a quarter of malt, and six bushels of wheat and vitell according thereto, notwithstanding the testator [*n*] willed, that such a yearly yeovale should be mainteyned while the world endureth.

Scotales were generally kept in houses of public resort, but the ale at giveales was first dispensed, if not in the church (which however sometimes happened [*o*]), yet in the church-yard ;

[*n*] History and Antiquities of Tenet, p. 155, and Append. p. 74. In the page referred to of the History, it is expressed *her* will, Mr. Lewis not having attended to the clause in which Etheldred Barrow bequeaths a legacy to the Light, of which he was a brother, "Item cuilibet luminari cujus sum *frater* duos modios ordeii."

[*o*] A. 1516, April 18. Injungitur D'no Joh. Thompson, cur' de Hoo, quod de cetero non permittat aliquas potationes fieri eccles. sub pœna juris. Item Rect' de Holfrow.—Curat' de Sanct. Maria, et vic' de Stoke. Aft. Cur. Confiſt. Roffen. fol. 164. Perhaps these injunctions might have reference to common scotales, and not to testamentary giveales at obits, which were to be distributed in the church, as were those noticed in the underwritten bequests. "Holfrow. Test. Will. Love—In omnibus annis sequent' viz. quolibet anno circa anniverſar', &c. tres modios frumenti et tres modios braſi pro pane et cerviſi' in eccles. distribuend' per heredes meos in perpetuum duratur."—Thorpe's Antiq. p. 42. "Hadlow. Test. Jam. Goffe. I will that the yearly profits of a field shall be bestowed in bread and ale amongst poor people in the church of Hadlow." Ibid. p. 43. "Holfrow. Test. Joh. Sharnwell. I will eight bushels of wheat and five bushels of malt to be distributed in the church or church-yard." Ibid. p. 45.—"Bromley. Test. Joh. Harledg. Certain lands entailed on condition to keepe yearly in Bromley church of iiis. 4d. bread and beer to the poor, &c." Ibid. p. 47.—"St. Margaret. Test. Jane Smith. A yearly obit on Monday next after Midlent Sunday viiid. to the vicar, to the clerk iyd. two bushels of wheat for bread, and peas, and 100 of white herrings, and half a ſeme of mault, to be brewed yearly, the bread, peas, &c. to be delt in St. Margaret's church to poor people that will come to take it." Ibid. p. 50.—"Hoo. Test. Edward Pratt. I will that my executors shall receive and take the

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profits

yard; and had not this mode been adopted of inducing persons to assist at the celebration of private masses, and to repeat Ave Marias and Pater Nosters, for the health of the founders and their relatives, a principal design of the institution of them would probably have been frustrated.

Evident then is it that a man in high glee over "a stoup of strong liquor," was not in former days an unusual sight within the precincts of a church; unquestionably not, as I apprehend, in Chalk church-yard, William May, of that parish, having provided a copious giveale for a very small district which had very few inhabitants. In his will, which was dated the 24th of May, 1512, are some memorable items concerning his funeral which were not minuted by Stowell[p]. To every godchild he had within the county of Kent, or elsewhere, he gave six bushels of barley; and he directed, if four of these children were able, they should bear him to the church, and every of them have sixpence for his labour. He further willed, that his executors should buy two new torches against his burial for x sh. [q]; that four poor men should be paid

profits of the land I have hired of John Love, of Halstow, for the space of nine years, and they to give yearly during the said term 9 bushel of wheat in bread and 10 bushel of mault in drink, on Midlent Sunday, in the church of Hoo." Ibid. p. 51.

[p] Thorpe's Antiq. p. 46.

[q] My friend, Mr. Fountaine, who favoured me with the additional notes from the will of William May, hinted a doubt, whether by mistake of the register in copying the will the torches are not over-rated. But great as appears to be this charge of wax taper, or torch, some centuries ago, it may be supported as the true reading by sundry authentic evidences." A. 1458, Sept. 18. "Laurence Joys of Rochester was found guilty in the Bishop's court of the crime of adultery, and the sentence was, that he should offer a torch as high as himself, 4^a *tertium fuit longitudo*," at the tomb of St. William, and another torch at the tomb

paid two-pence apiece for bearing these torches, and that the three men who should sing at his burial should have for their labour three-pence apiece, and as much at his month's mynd [*r.*]. To the highth altar he bequeathed twenty-pence, and he willed that an honest preste should synge for his soull and his friends, as shortly as he may be gotten, half a yere, and have for his labour five markes. He willed at his burial there should be thirteen prestes, and every preste to have then, and also at his month's mynd, six-pence for his labor. He likewise willed, that his wife make every year for his soull an obit, and to make in bread six bushels of wheat, and in drink ten bushels of mault, and in cheefe twenty-pence, to give to poor people for the health of his soull; and he ordered, that after the decease of his wife his executors and feoffees should continue the obit before rehearsed for evermore.

tomb of St. Blaze in the bishop's chapel." *Act cur. consist.* p. 356. "A. 1458. Dec. 20, Walter Crepelogg, who had countenanced and promoted a clandestine marriage, was adjudged to be whipt three times round the market at Rochester, and as often round his parish church, carrying in his hand, as a penitent, a torch value vii. s. which he was to present at the altar in Rochester cathedral, and he was to present a torch of the same value at the image of St. Blaze in Bromley." *Ibid.* p. 363. a. A. 1464. Test. Thomas Blackinden. "Item do et lego unum novum le torchie ad pretium vii. s. ardent. in dicta ecclesia (St. Nicolai, Tenet) in salutem anime mee, ac parentum et amicorum meorum." *Lewis, Hist. and Antiq.* p. 53. It is observable, that William May directed there should be two men to carry each torch.

[*r.*] A. 1225, in a provincial council held in Scotland, it was ordered, that no layman should sing at the burial or obsequies of the dead. "Item ad funera et exequies mortuorum laicorum cantus vel choreas fieri prohibemus, cum non deceat de aliorum fletu ridere, sed ibidem potius de hujusmodi dolere." *Wilkins, Concil. v. l.* p. 617. This prohibition implies it to have been a practice in that country, as it certainly was in England; and most probably, the persons who had exercised their vocal talents at the celebration of a mass of Requiem, became afterwards ballad singers at the Giveale.

Givæales on obsequies, as well as on the anniversaries on the dedication of churches, were in other respects merry-makes, at which there was a free, perhaps a licentious indulgence in the games and sports of the times; though playing with the ball, singing of ballads, dissolute dances, and ludicrous spectacles in churches and church-yards, subjected the frequenters of them to pecuniary penalties and ecclesiastical censures, excommunications not excepted [s].

In

[s] A. 1223. Constit. Ricardi: Poor ep'i Sarum. Adhuc prohibemus, ne choreæ vel turpes et inhonesti ludi, qui ad lasciviam invitant, fiant cœmeteriis. Ibid. p. 600. A. 1240. Constit. W. de Cantilup. ep'i Wigorn. Ad servendam quoque tam cœmeterii quam ecclesiæ reverentiam, prohibemus, ne in cœmeteriis vel aliis locis sacris—ludi fiant inhonesti, maxime in sanctorum vigiliis, et festis ecclesiarum, quod potius in dedecus sanctis cedere novimus quam honorem, præsumptoribus et sacerdotibus, que hæc sustinuerint fieri, canonice coercendis. Ibid. p. 666. A. 1287. Synod. Exon. dioc. a Petro de Quivil episcopo. Et quia in cœmeteriis dedicatis multa sanctorum et salvandorum corpora tumulantur, quibus debetur omnis honor et reverentia; sacerdotibus parochialibus districte præcipimus, ut in ecclesiis suis denuncient publice, ne quisquam luctas, choreas, vel alios ludos inhonestos in cœmeteriis exercere præsumat, præcipue in vigiliis et festis sanctorum, cum hujusmodi ludos theatrales et ludibria spectacula introductos per quos ecclesiarum coinquinatur honestas, sacri ordines detestantur. Quod si aliqui post factam denunciationem, ludos hujusmodi, quamquam improprie dictos, eo quod ex eis crimina oriuntur, exercuerint, prediæi sacerdotes eorum nomina loci archidiacono vel ipsius officiali denuncient, ut ipsi pro suis demeritis canonice puniantur. Ibid. vol. II. p. 140. A. 1308. Constit. synodal. per Henricum Woodloke, epi Winton.—Præcipimus et in ipsis (cœmeteriis) in sanctorum festivitibus aut aliis luctæ non fiant, aut choreæ ducantur, vel alii ludi spectabiles habeantur. Ibid. p. 295. "By a mandate of the bishop of Winchester in the register there, were forbid ballad-singing, the exhibiting of shows, and other profanations in the church-yard, on pain of excommunication." Not. Reg. W. Wykam. "*Ad pilas ludere, certas dissolutas facere, canes cantilenas, ludibrium spectacula facere, et alios ludos celebrare.*" The Environs of London, vol. I. p. 248. A. 1363. Constitutions of John Thoresby, arch-

In the church-yard of Chalk, therefore, the sculptor who had directions to ornament the porch, if he was of a humorous cast, had a choice of subjects for his chisel; and we accordingly perceive that he selected the portrait of an antick fool, or vice, dressed in character, and grasping a jug. He is described by Mr. Clarke as wearing a short coat or jacket, with large buttons and a belt (to which seems to be suspended a pouch), and on his head a cap, or hood pointed, the end falling over his right cheek, though this is somewhat broken. He is squatted beneath the base of a neat recess that has a pointed arch, is adorned with roses, and was certainly designed to contain the statue of the tutelary saint of the church. In the center of the moulding above the nich is a shocking distortion of the human form, noticed by Mr. Thorpe, as being in the attitude of a posture-master, or perhaps it may be as properly described by the words, a tumbler caricatured. On each side of this figure is a human head, and on their faces, as well as on the visage of the jovial tippler, Mr. Clarke observes, the sculptor seems to have bestowed such an indelible smirke, that however they have suffered by the corrosions of time and weather, nearly to the

archbishop of York.—2. Whereas some, being turned to a reprobate sense, meet in churches on the vigils of saints, and offend very grievously against God and his saints, whom they pretend to venerate, by minding hurtful plays and vanities, and sometimes what is worse; and in the exequies of the dead turn the house of mourning and prayer into the house of laughter and excess, to the great peril of their own souls—we strictly forbid any that come to such vigils and exequies, especially in churches, to exercise in any way such plays and uncleannesses.—And we strictly enjoin all rectors, &c. that they forbid and restrain all such infolenencies and excesses from being committed in their churches and church-yards by the sentence of suspension and excommunication according to the canon, &c. *Johnsoll's Collection.*

loss of features, it is yet visible. All three are represented as beholding with delight the feats of the tumbler; and Mr. Clarke intimates, that the figure below from the grin of self-approbation on his countenance may be the fool by whom the posture-master was usually accompanied, who, to heighten the mirth, had seized the jug while his principal was exercising his talents.

Chalk church being dedicated to the Virgin Mary, it may be concluded that her image was in the nich, and from its having been placed in the center of these ludicrous figures, the presumption is that the humours of the church-ale, or give-ale, here displayed, might have been realised on a public festival of the saint to whose honour the people were assembled, or on a parochial holiday, when a private mass was performed at her altar.

When this porch was erected cannot be ascertained. Its not being bonded to the contiguous wall shews it to be a building not coeval with the church; and that it might be finished after the institution of William May's anniversary give-ale is a conjecture not destitute of plausibility [1].

But if we reflect that a devotional homage to the statue was expected, nay required from all who passed under it into the church, it must be matter of astonishment that objects so unseemly, so disgusting, should be here exhibited. Notorious however is it, that, architectural dressings, far more indecorous, are to be seen within sacred edifices, and in

[1] Mr. Clarke has suggested, upon sufficient grounds, that formerly this church had a South aisle, where was most probably placed the principal door of entrance, with a porch. And on the diminishing of the church it might be judged more convenient to construct a new porch at the West end.

those parts which were deemed most holy, in different countries, where the rites of the Romish worship prevailed.

In the church of St. Spire at Corbeil there are grotesques under the seats of the stalls [*u*]: and Dr. Moore, after mentioning that on the pillars and cornices of the church at Straburgh, the vices of monks are exposed under the allegorical figures of hogs, asses, monkeys, and foxes in monkish habits, who perform the most venerable functions of religion, observes, that upon the whole this cathedral is considered by some people as the most impious, and by others as the merriest Gothic church in Christendom [*w*].

Under the seat of each stall in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster abbey are carvings so very indecent, and so satirical on ecclesiastics, that a gentleman who inspected them a few years ago found it difficult to persuade himself, that a congregation of St. Benedict should ever suffer them to appear within their sacred walls; he, in this favourable opinion of the monks, being influenced by a perusal of the rigid rules of their order, without attending to the laxity in their observance of them. And though in this instance it may be allowed, that as this chapel was built by king Henry VII. the architects and workmen were not subject to the controul of the abbat and his brethren; the plea will certainly not avail in the case of the prior and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, who, instead of preventing, as was manifestly in their power, must have countenanced as glaring a violation of decency in their cathedral near the high altar, and the shrine of their darling saint, Thomas Becket. For the fence of iron work at the West end of Trinity chapel, has at-

[*u*] *Antiq. Nat.* by Millin.

[*w*] *View of Society in France, &c.* vol. I. p. 370.

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the top a rail or cornice of wood, painted with those ridiculous and trifling fancies with which the monks were every where fond of making the preaching order of friers appear as contemptible as they could [x].

The Statue of Mary at Chalk church was demolished by the Iconoclasts of the last century; though possibly there might not be at that time an inhabitant of the parish in whose mind the image would have excited an idolatrous propensity. But the grotesque figures escaped the hammers of these conscientious reformers; whose pious feelings were not hurt with the view of a toper and a scaramouch carved on the frontispiece of the vestibule of a house of Prayer; notwithstanding, in their own conceits, they held purer doctrines, and were more sanctimonious in their devotions, and stricter in their morals, than other men.

Wilmington, Jan. 6, 1794.

SAMUEL DENNE.

[x] Walk in and about Canterbury, p. 261.

IV. *Mr. ASTLE on the Tenures, Customs, &c. of his Manor of GREAT TEY. In a Letter addressed to the President.*

Read May 22, 1794.

MY LORD,

HAVING observed several singular tenures, customs, and usages, in my manor of Great Tey, in the hundred of Lexden and county of Essex; I conceive that illustrations of the most remarkable may be acceptable to the Society of Antiquaries.

This manor was paramount to, and had jurisdiction over many other manors in very early times. These were held by various Rents and Services, as well civil as military.

The military services were abolished in the reign of king Charles the Second, but most of the ancient rents are still paid. The lords had both courts-leet and courts-baron, wherein they held pleas of different kinds. This manor is of considerable extent, being about seventeen miles in circumference; the lands, which are mostly arable, are remarkably productive, and have long been in a high state of cultivation. The ancient possessors of this estate seem to have considered both convenience and security in the disposal of their lands. On an elevated spot, which commands an extensive prospect over a great tract of country, stood the lord's mansion in the centre of the manor, which was surrounded by a mote; this house was occasionally the summer residence of the lords Fitz-Walter from the reign of king John to that of king Henry VI. Several manors and lands were granted to knights and to free-

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men to be holden of the lords of this manor, on various conditions, and by different rents and services, the most remarkable of which shall be mentioned hereafter.

The free tenants were chiefly placed on the Southern part of the manor, towards the great Roman road leading from Kelvedon to Colchester, or that leading from Coggeshall, to the same place. The base tenants or villani were placed in the Northern part, and were in a great measure surrounded by the lord's demesnes, and by the lords of Bacons and Flories; the lands on the North of the manor are most of them copyhold at this day. On the North-east side of the capital mansion, at the distance of about a mile and a half, stood the mansion house of the lords of *Bacons*, which in early times was a sub-infeudation made by one of the great lords of Tey, to a vavassour or rear vassal. This manor was held by knight's service, homage, fealty, suit of court, a reasonable aid to marry the lord's daughter, and by the rent of £.1. 6s. 6d. payable half-yearly, which is paid at this day by Charles Alexander Cricket, Esq. the present possessor of this estate [a].

On

[a] In the 12th of Edward I. the manor of Bacons was held of the lord Fitz-Walter by Roger Fitz-Richard, by the rents and services above-mentioned. In the reign of Edward III. it was held by the family of Bacon. In the next reign it was possessed by the family of Calthorpe, whose descendants enjoyed it till the 3d of Edward VI. when, on the death of Sir Philip Calthorpe, knight, it descended to his daughter and heir Elizabeth, wife of Sir Henry Parker, knight. In the 5th of queen Elizabeth she and Sir John Woodhouse, her second husband, sold the same to John Turner, gent. from whom it descended to Margaret his daughter and sole heir, who was first the wife of Thomas Smith, esq. by whom she had four sons and six daughters; she was afterwards married to Sir Stephen Poule, knight. On her death it descended to her eldest son and heir, Stephen Smith, esq. whose descendants possessed it till 1724, when Thomas Smith, dying without issue, left them to his niece, Mary Tendring, who devised them

On the West side of the lord's mansion, at about the distance of a mile, stands the manor house of *Flories*, which has for ages been held of this manor by knight's service, homage, fealty. suit of court, and by the yearly rent of 11*s.* 3*d.* which is still paid [6].

The manor of Uphall is on the South-west part of this manor, which, with its demesnes, came into the possession of the lords Fitzwalter in the reign of king Richard II. when it was absorbed in the paramount manor, and the estate is to this day a part of the demesnes of the manor of Great Tey.

A capital messuage and half a carucate of land, called Trumpington's, was likewise within the said manor. In the 13th of Edward I. Robert de Trumpington held this estate

them to her cousin Thomas Alexander Smith, esq. who, in 1747, devised the same to Charles Alexander, from whom it came to the present proprietor.

[6] This manor was enjoyed by the possessors of the manor of Bacons till the death of Margaret Smith, sole daughter and heir of John and Christian Turner, when her son John Smith had *Flories*, who, November 1, 1645, sold it to William Stebbing, of Great Tey, gent. who, April 29th 1650, with Rose his wife, sold it to Christopher Scarlet, who, by his will dated September 23d in the same year, devised it to his son Thomas Scarlet; but, in 1657, Stephen Smith, esq. commenced a suit against the said Thomas Scarlet for the manor, which suit continued till November 12th 1664, when it was determined they had an equal right, and the courts were held in their joint names. The said Thomas Scarlet, by his will dated December 4th 1705, devised this estate to his nephew Thomas Scarlet, who, April 23d, 1713, sold it to John Little, who held a court jointly with Thomas Smith, August 31st in that year. On the 23d of March, 1714, the said Thomas Smith for a valuable consideration conveyed all his manerial rights to the said John Little, reserving to himself the site of the manor of Bacons, with the demesne lands and the farms thereto belonging. Mr. Little held his court as sole lord of the manor May 2d, 1714. After his death it descended to his daughter Mary, who was first married to Thomas Bridge, gent. and afterwards to — Foster, whom she survived, and by her will devised the same to Thomas Stuck, of Halstead, gent. for his life, and after his decease to Samuel Shaen of Hatfield Peverell, gent. who is the present possessor.

by the service of finding the king one horse, one sack of canvas, and one broche in his army in Wales, during forty days, at his own charge. By an inquisition taken the 30th Edw. I. it appears, that this estate was held of the king *in capite* [c]. In 1398 it was given to the priory of St. Botolph in Colchester, and after the dissolution it was granted to Lord Chancellor Audeley, and since that time it has been part of the demesnes of the lords of Great Tey.

THE following fiefs were held of this manor by knight's service, homage, fealty, suit of court, and by several rents and services.

Ramsfey Hall. Two-third parts of the manor of Ramsfey Hall in Essex were held of the manor of Great Tey, by the third part of a knight's fee, and by the third part of 10s. payable at the end of every twenty-four weeks for castle ward, and by homage, fealty, and suit of court [d]. *Parker's* or *Roydon Hall.* *Lagenboo* in Essex. The tenement of *Avenells* in Gamlinghay. The master of *Martinage* Hall holds the manor of *Martynage* in Gamlinghay in the county of Cambridge. The master of *Pleshy Collegin* Essex, held in *Pleshy*

[c] Merant's Hist. of Essex, vol. II. p. 207.

[d] In an ancient extent of the manor made 12 Edward I. A. D. 1284, it appears, that Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, held three fees in Ramsfey, Gosfield, and Beauchampe, by the farm or rent of xs. payable every 24 weeks. In the 48th Edward III. the countess of Oxford paid to the lord Walter Fitz-walter, lord of Tey, as an aid to marry his daughter three pounds for the said three fees. On the 25th of November, 15th Richard II. ten shillings were paid for Castle Guard, and the further sum of 10s. were also paid on the same account. In the 22d of Henry VI. John earl of Oxford paid at the end of 24 weeks, xs. In the 11th of queen Elizabeth William Ayloff, esq. was distrained for his relief of 100s. due on the death of William Ayloff, his father, for the manor of Ramsfey-hall, held of this manor as a knight's fee, and for a rent of xs. payable at the end of 24 weeks for Castle Guard silver.

half

half a knight's fee. *Wesley Manor* in Cambridgeshire. *Steeple Morden*, alias Bryse's Fee in Cambridgeshire. The estates called Vernons in Wake's Colne, formerly possessed by Hugh de Crepping, and afterwards by John de Vernon, are held of this manor by knight's service, homage, fealty, and suit of court, under the rent of 3*d.* at Easter, and the like sum at Michaelmas, a pair of gilt spurs at Pentecost or 12*d.* and three pounds of pepper, and one pound and a half of cummin; and the possessor of these estates was to find one man to attend the Justices itinerant in Essex at his own cost.

The lands called Sompnors in Aldham were held by knight's service, homage, fealty, suit of court, and by the yearly rent of 5*s.* and the proprietor was to find one man at his own cost, to attend the Justices itinerant in Essex.

The tenement called Georges was held by knight's service, fealty, suit of court, and paid scutage 20*s.* 6*d.* when scutage was to be levied. Many other estates were held by knight's service of this manor, by homage, fealty, and suit of court; but as there is nothing remarkable in their tenures they are omitted.

In ancient times rents in kind were paid by several of the free tenants within the manor. The Creffield family paid yearly one pound of cummin for certain lands called Cookes, containing twenty-five acres [e].

[e] This family possessed estates in this county in very early times. In the Clause roll of the first of Edward II. A. D. 1307, is a writ directed to Walter de Gloucester, the king's escheator on this side Trent, to grant seisin to Andrew de Creffield of all the lands of his father Robert Creffield, who held of the king's father *in capite*, the said Andrew having obtained his full age, and done homage. The estate called Pope's has been enjoyed by the posterity of the said Andrew Creffield, and descended in the direct line for several centuries until the year 1782, when Edward Creffield, Doctor in Divinity, dying unmarried, devised it to me, I having married the heir general of the family.

The

The Upcher family paid yearly a gilly-flower for land called Langley.

The family of Pudney paid annually a red rose at Midsummer, for a cottage and a garden called God-sons. This was probably a gift from a lord to his godson.

The Motcham family paid a quit-rent of *6d.* and a dish of honcy, or *8d.* in lieu thereof.

There were also other rents, as capons, hens, geese, eggs, and a plough-share, for Collops tenement, two years together, and the third year none, and two seams of wheat within fourteen days after Hallowmas.

The villani or copyhold tenants belonging to this manor were bound by their tenures to plow the lord's land, to mow his grafs, to reap his corn, and to cut underwood in his woods for fire. They were also obliged to make the lord's fences round his woods within the manor, who furnished the materials for making them by permitting the tenants, whose lands border thereon, to enter one rod within the woods, and to cut the underwood for that purpose; and after they were repaired, the tenants were allowed to take the overplus of the underwoods so cut, to their own use; and from this service grew a custom, which prevails at this day, called *rod fall*, which the tenants now claim as a privilege. Many particulars concerning the villain services and customs of this manor are fully exemplified in a survey made thereof in the year 1593, by a jury on oath consisting of forty-eight persons, composed of both free and copyhold tenants, in which survey is inrolled many charters and records relating to the manor.

These villain services are also referred to by several inquisitions remaining in the Tower of London. I shall only mention a few of them. By an inquisition taken in 1326, after the death of Robert Lord Fitzwalter, the jury found that he held on the day of his death, in his demesne, as of *fee*, the
manor

manor of Great Tey in the county of Essex, and that there were within the said manor 500 acres of arable land worth 12*l.* 10*s.* *per annum*, the value of each acre 6*d.* and that there were 20 acres of meadow, which were worth *per annum* 6*s.* and 10 acres of pasture, of the yearly value of 10*s.* and 10 acres of wood and underwood, which were worth *per annum* 3*s.* 4*d.* and there were 2020 villain services, called Winter Works, to be performed annually by the base tenants or copyholders of the manor, between the feast of St. Michael and the gules of August, which were of the annual value of 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the value of each man's labour one halfpenny *per diem*; and also 580 villain services, called Autumnal Works, to be performed by the copyholders of the manor, between the gules of August and the feast of St. Michael, which were valued at 48*s.* 4*d.* the value of each day's labour 1*d.* and there were 60 days ploughing to be done by the customary tenants, which were of the value of 50*s.* &c. [f] By this inquisition it appears, that the state of agriculture must have been very low at this period, the arable land being valued at only six pence *per acre*. The comparative value of the meadow was as six to one, and that of the pasture as two to one. By another inquisition taken 2 Edw. III. after the death of the Lord Robert Fitzwalter, lord of this manor. "Juratores dicunt, &c. "quod est ibidem de servitiis & consuetudinibus villanorum "ij mil. c opera Yemalia que valent iij*l.* vijs. vjd. pretium operis "obolum. Item, sunt ibidem 630 opera Autumpnal' que "valent 48*s.* 4*d.* pretium operis 1*d.* Item, sunt ibidem 60 "aruræ quæ valent 30*s.* pretium aruræ 6*d.* Item, sunt ibi- "dem viij *Aucupes* que valent ij *s.* [g]" By the same inquisi-

[f] By the survey of the manor abovementioned it appears, that in the reign of king Henry V. several villain services were commuted for by rents, which is the reason why many small copyhold estates pay large quit-rents.

[g] Efc. 2 Edw. III. n. 59. A. D. 1328.

tion

tion it was found that capons, hens, and eggs, were annually paid to the lord.

Several singular customs prevailed in this manor, which appear to be worthy of observation. In one of the manor books I find the following entry.

“Memorandum. Anno Dom. 1618, Robert Audeley, Esq. then lord of the manor of Much Tey, required of the customary tenants or copyholders, a duty due to him, as he and his steward Ezekiel Rayner affirmed, of forty shillings, called *Onziell*, which of long time had not been paid, and no copyholder could remember any such duty in their time demanded; whereupon the tenants required of the lords a day until the lord's court next following. The tenants re-
 “teyned for their council Mr. Wakering of Kelvedon, and Mr. Beriffe of Colchester. The lord by his steward then shewing to these counsellors all such rolls as they supposed would have proved that this duty of *onziell* ought yearly to be paid; the counsellors' answer was, *viz.* That it did appear to them to be true, that in the time of Mungomery, who was then lord of the said manor, his copyholders which held of that manor paid him that duty of forty shillings *per annum*, called *onziell*, during his life, and were still to continue payment of the same, so long as the said manor continued in that blood unfold, (which seemed to them to be the meaning of the word *onziell*); but after his death one Wiseman marrying Mungomery's widow, and the said Wiseman purchasing the manor of Mungomery's heirs, who sold the same, the said duty of forty shillings *per annum*, called *onziell*, ceased payment, and so hath continued ever since, as being no such duty due to the lord.”

These opinions manifest, that neither the lord's steward nor the counsel understood the nature of the claim; for it is

called

absurd to suppose, that an ancient right or custom could have been annihilated by an alienation of the manor, but still it was difficult to discover, what this customary payment of *ouziell* or *ouziell* was [b]. On inspecting the old survey of the manor above mentioned, I found, that the word was written *unzeld*, which, in an inquisition remaining in the Tower of London, hereafter to be quoted, will appear to be a tallage, payable by ancient custom, called *unzeld* or *unzeld*, as it ought to have been written; but the Saxon letters having long been disused, the Norman scribes adopted the Gothic *z*, a character which was familiar to them, instead of the Saxon *g*, to them unknown. This word *unzeld* is frequently to be met with in the ancient records, charters, and grants of the Emperors and Princes of Germany, whereby they discharged their vassals from the payment of *ungeldt* [i]. Gaffar in Annal. Augsburg. has the following passage, which seems a probable etymology: "Tributa seu collectæ, quas plebs suo idiomate "ungeltam, hoc est indebitum appellare consuevit." The people seem to have thought it a payment which ought not to have been made. Skinner, in his Etymologicon, explains this word *infolutus*, which he derives from the Saxon negative *Un* and *ildan* solvere. Somner cites the same word in his Glossary from John Brompton's Chronicle, which is explained unpaid. In Germany this word is still written *ungeld*, *umbgeld*, *omgeld*, *omgelt*, and it is often made synonymous with *tributum* [k]. The inquisition above alluded to, which

[b] At first I supposed that there might have been a custom which obliged the base copyholders to feed the lord's young hawks, for *ouziell* or *ziell* is an obsolete French word for a bird, and *ziellet* is a little bird, particularly a hawk, says Cotgrave in his French Dictionary; but this supposition is proved by records to be erroneous.

[i] See Du Cange's Glossary.

[k] See Adeling's German Dictionary, voc. Ungeld.

was taken at Chelmsford in the first year of the reign of king Henry the Sixth. A. D. 1422, after the death of Humphry lord Fitzwalter, shews, that ungelb or ungesb, as it was corruptly written, was a tallage of forty shillings to be annually paid to the lord, according to ancient custom, at the feast of St. Michael [1], which was an arbitrary tax imposed on the base tenants of this manor by one of its ancient possessors before the Conquest, and I am inclined to think so, because the word is Saxon, derived from the Teutonic or German. It is well known, that it was customary for the chieftains among the Germans, and for the great lords in the times of the Saxons, to subject their villani of the lower order to arbitrary impositions. Thus it appears, that the payment of ungelb was a tallage paid to the lords of the manor in ancient times, long before the family of Montgomery acquired it, and therefore it could not have been a personal payment to Sir John Montgomery for his life only, as was suggested by the council.

Many estates in this manor were subject to the *Marcheta Mulierum*, which custom has commonly been supposed to be a right which the lord had, of passing the first night after marriage with his female villain. The best historians of

[1] Inquisitio capta apud Chelmsford, in com. Essex, coram Johanne de Kirkeby, Escaetore, Domini Regis, per sacramentum, Johannis Semy, & alⁱ. Qui dicunt, &c. quod manerium de Magna Tey eum pertinentiis, in Comitatu predicto, et alia maneria, &c. in manu domini regis devenerunt, ratione minoris etatis Walteri Filⁱ Walteri, &c. Et dicunt quod omnia predicta maneria de Magna Teye, ac manerium de Uphalle, &c. tenentur de domino rege ut pareat^r. Baronie de Baynard's Castle, per servitium militare. In quo quidam manerio de Magna Teye, sunt, &c. Et Tallagium custumarium, de quodam antiqua consuetudine, vocat. ungesb x. s. solvend^o. ad Festum Sancti Michaelis per ann. et placita et perquis. curiar, &c. Efc^a 1 Hen. VI. n. 36.

Scotland, also Dr. Plot, Bayle, and others [m], as well as several foreign authors, have given many marvellous and indecent particulars concerning this custom, which some writers have asserted was not abolished in Scotland till the reign of Malcolm the Third ; but, on diligent inquiry, I am of opinion that this kind of intercourse between the lord and his female villain never existed. Many of the relations concerning this custom are too absurd to deserve attention. The materials, collected by the writers who endeavour to support the opinion above referred to, tend to the establishing a system, in support of which much reading has been misapplied.

I will not trouble your lordship or the Society with entering into particulars, but will proceed to inquire what this custom really was, which prevailed not only in many manors in England, Wales, Scotland, and the Isle of Guernsey, but also on the Continent.

I am persuaded that I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of the Society, that the *Marcheta* was a compact between the lord of a manor and his villain, for the redemption of an offence committed by the unmarried daughter of his vassal ; but more generally it was a fine paid by a sokeman or a villain to his lord, for a licence to marry his daughter, and if the vassal gave her away without obtaining such licence, he was liable to pay a fine. This was sometimes termed *Maritagium*, but that word must be distinguished in this sense, from the same word in its more general import. There are two records quoted by Sir Henry Spelman which explain this custom. Extenta manerii de Wivenho (Com. Essex), 18 Dec. 40 Edw. Iil.

[m] Boethius's Hist. vol. III. p. 35. Plot's History of Staffordshire, p. 278. Bayle's Dict.

“ Ric. Burro tenet unum mesuagium et debet talliagium,
 “ sectam curie, & *merchet*, hoc modo, *quod si maritare vo-*
 “ *luerit filiam suam cum quodam libero homine, extra villam, fa-*
 “ *ciet pacem domini pro maritagio, & si eam maritaverit alicui*
 “ *custumario villæ, nihil dabit pro maritagio.*”

“ Placita coram concilio domini regis. Term’ Mich. 57
 “ Hen. III. Rot. 4. Suffolk. Johanna Deakeny attachiata fuit
 “ ad respondend. hominibus de Berkholt, quare exigit ab eis
 “ alia servitia, &c. Unde dicitur quod tempore regis H.
 “ (Henry II.) avi regis, solebant habere talem consuetudinem,
 “ quod quando maritare volebant filias suas, solebant dare
 “ *pro filiabus suis maritandis* duas Oras, quæ valent 32 de-
 “ narios, &c. postea veniunt homines et concedunt quod de-
 “ bent dare *merchetum* pro filiabus suis maritandis scilicet 32
 “ denarios.” Bracton mentions this as a villain custom.
 “ Qui tenet in villenagio talliari potest ad voluntatem do-
 “ mini. Item dare *merchetum*, ad filiam maritandum, & *mer-*
 “ *chetum* vero pro filia dare non competit libero homini, inter
 “ alia propter liberi sanguinis privilegium [n].”

The probable reason of the custom appears to have been this. Persons of low rank residing on an estate were generally either *ascripti glebæ*, or were subjected to some species of servitude, similar to the *ascripti glebæ*, the tenants were bound to reside on the estate, and to perform several services to the lord. As women necessarily followed the residence of their husbands, the consequence was, that when a woman of low rank married a stranger, the lord was deprived of part of his live stock; he therefore required a fine to indemnify him for the loss of his property. In process of time this compe-

[n] Bracton, 4. T. I. c. 28. 2. T. I. c. 8. f. 2.

sition was thrown into the aggregate sum of quit rents, as appears by the ancient survey of this manor above referred to.

The following instances extracted from the records of different manors will elucidate this custom, and tend to confirm what has been said concerning it. By the custom of the manor of Brayes, in the county of Warwick, the tenants were not to marry their daughters, or make their son's priests, without licence from their lord. Blount, p. 247, edit 1784.

A villain in Clymethond in Cornwall, was not to send his son to school, nor marry his daughter, without the prince's licence; and, when he died, the lord was to have all his chattels. Ib. 250.

By the custom of the manors of Thurgarton and Horspoll, in the county of Nottingham, every nief or the villain who took a husband, or committed fornication, paid *marchet* for redemption of her blood 5s. 4d. and the daughter of a cottager half a marchet; and, in Fiskerton and Moreton, in the same county, every the native who committed fornication paid as aforesaid, to the lord, in lieu of *marcheta mulierum*. Ibid. 264. The *marchet* of Howel Dha was the fine for the marriage of a daughter. Ib. 268. In the manor of Brug or Burg, in the county of Salop, when a customary tenant married his daughter out of the manor, he was to pay the lord 3s. Also he was to give for every lierwyte 2s. Ib. 267 [e] Further particulars on the *marcheta* are to be found in Sir David Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, vol. I. Appendix,

The Guildhall, where the lord's courts have been immemorially held, is an ancient structure, which for several ages

[e] Lierwyte or Lairwyte is from the Saxon Lagan, concubere, to lie together; and five mufets, a fine imposed upon offenders in adultery and fornication, and payable to the lord of the manor.

has been granted by copy of court-roll to trustees for the use of the poor of the parish, the lords reserving to themselves the right of holding their courts therein according to ancient usage. Near to the Guildhall there is a field called the Play-field or Playing-place, where the young men exercised themselves in archery and other manly diversions [p]; the herbage is at this day held by copy of court-roll; but, in the year 1727, John Lay, the copyhold tenant, forbid the inhabitants to play in the said field as formerly, and in order to prevent them broke it up, and sowed the same with oats, notwithstanding their remonstrances; whereupon they assembled on Trinity Monday, made bonfires, and diverted themselves as usual, and of course destroyed the oats. Lay indicted them for the trespass, the inhabitants joined issue, and pleaded, that they and their predecessors had used the said field as a common playing place, time whereof the memory of man was not to the contrary, and the cause was tried before Lord Chief Justice Eyre, at the assizes at Brentwood, on Friday August 19th, 1728. The defendants proved, that for upwards of seventy years the young people of Tey, and of the neighbouring parishes, had used the said field as a common playing place every Trinity Monday, which was the time of holding the fair at Great Tey, and they produced an arrow which had been used in

[p] In 11 Hen. VII. A. D. 1456, John Warren surrendered to Robert Knight, and others, the herbage of a parcel of land, containing one rood, for the enlargement of a common playing place; "pro architenentibus licitis, ea intentione per dominum istius maneri ex antiquo sic concessum." Tenend. per annal Reddit, 2d. In the 24th of Queen Elizabeth Samuel Motelham was admitted to the herbage and pasture of the common playing place, per Redditum 2d. "Et permittendo architenentes sagittarios, et lufores villæ predictæ ibidem habere uti et gaudere Joca sua, more solito et consueto, absque impedimento seu vexatione, secundum veram intentionem predicti Johannis Warren donatoris inde." Survey of the Manor made 35 Eliz. A. D. 1593.

shooting

shooting at butts in the said playing-place above sixty years before, which butts were standing in the memory of most of the witnesses, and that the plaintiff and his predecessors were only admitted to the feeding and pasturage, and that the lord of the manor and another magistrate, refused the plaintiff a warrant against the young men for playing in the said field. The defendants were found not guilty, and the Lord Chief Justice Eyre said, that he did not think an action of trespass would hold, but that the defendants might justify their action of right. Upon the hearing of this cause a question arose, whether townsmen could be witnesses, the Chief Justice allowed of them, because it was not only the parishioners of Great Tey, who had a right to play in the said field, but those of other parishes.

I shall conclude by giving your Lordship, and the Society, a short account of the descent of the manor. In the Saxon times this manor was possessed by earl Alfgar, who was succeeded by his daughter Ælflede, or Ægelflede, the wife of Brithnorth duke of the East Angles, and after her decease by Æthelflede her sister, who was married to duke Æthelstan, on whose death it was given to the monastery of Stoke near Neyland, which was the burying-place of the family, and perhaps, says Tanner, founded by some of them. Earl Alfgar lived in the tenth century [7]. At the time of the Survey it was possessed by Eustace earl of Bologne; from earl Eustace it came to his third son, Eustace, also earl of Bologne, whose daughter Maud brought it in marriage to her husband Stephen earl of Blois, afterwards king of England. King Stephen gave it to his third son, William earl

[7] See the testaments of the two daughters of earl Alfgar, in Wotton's short View of Hickee's Thesaur. London, 1708, 4to. p. 60, 63, and Tanner's Notitia, p. 508.

of Mortain and Surrey, who granted it to Richard de Lucy, Lord of Difs in Norfolk, and Chief Justice of England in 1162, who died without issue male January 14th, 1179. Maud, his eldest daughter, was married to Walter Fitz-Robert, great-grandson of Gislebert earl of Eu in Normandy, who came into England with the Conqueror, and ancestor of the noble family of Fitzwalter. This lady brought Great Tey, and many other estates in the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, to her husband Walter Fitz Robert, on whose death, in 1158, his estates descended to Robert Fitz Walter his son, whose descendants enjoyed this manor, with other large possessions, till the death of Robert lord Fitzwalter in 1432. Soon after it was possessed by Sir John Montgomery, knight. Sir Thomas his son succeeded him, who died January 2d, 1494, without issue, whereupon his sister Philippa brought this manor to her husband Francis Bryan, esq. who, in 1532, had licence to sell it to Thomas lord Audeley, Lord Chancellor of England, in whose family it continued till the 24th of June, 1704, when Henry Audeley, esq. sold this manor, with its demesnes and dependencies to George Cressener of London. In May, 1771, his son, George Cressener, esq. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, and to the Circle of Westphalia, with other necessary parties, conveyed the said manors and estates to

Your Lordship's

most faithful and

Battersea-Rise,
May 22, 1794.

most obedient Servant,

THOMAS ASTLE.

V.

V. *An Account of some Druidical Remains in Derbyshire. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Frederick Montagu, F. A. S. By Hayman Rooke, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read March 13, 1794

DEAR SIR,

IN this letter I have ventured to describe some Druidical remains in Derbyshire hitherto unnoticed, which, if you think sufficiently interesting to be communicated to the Society, I must beg you will do me the honour to present to them.

The investigation of monuments of remote antiquity, is an interesting pursuit to an Antiquary; and undoubtedly the most ancient we have in Britain are those of the Druids, whose religion was, most probably, that of the Patriarch Abraham, brought into this island by a Phœnician colony soon after his time. Dr. Stukeley was of this opinion, and observes, that “the Druid Philosophers and Priests are never spoken of in antiquity but with a note of admiration; and are always ranked with the Magi of the Persians, the Gymnosophists of the Indians, the Prophets and Hierophants of the Egyptians, and those sort of Patriarchal Priests, whose orders commenced before idolatry began, from whom the Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Greek Philosophers, learned the best things they knew [a].”

[a] Stukeley's Preface to *Stonehenge*.

VOL. XII.

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As the Druids never committed their sacred mysteries to writing, the only clew we have left, by which we can trace the religious rites and judicial ceremonies of this extraordinary order of priests and magistrates, is their rock monuments and temples; which, notwithstanding the lapse of time, are still to be found in great numbers variously dispersed in this kingdom.

Though these that are left give sufficient evidence to an accurate observer, of their having been formed partly by art, and made occasionally to move; yet there are many people who seem to think the rocking stones, rock idols, and other singular shaped rocks, to have been formed by some violent convulsion in nature, and are merely the effect of chance.

In my Druidical researches I have carefully examined above thirty rocking stones; and they all plainly appeared to have been formed by art, particularly those among Brimham rocks [b]. Toland tells us how these rocking stones were contrived, as mentioned by Sir Robert Sibbald in the Appendix to his History of Fife and Kenrofs. "That gentleman speaking of the rocking stone near Balvaird (or the Bards town), I am informed, says he, that this stone was broken by the usurper Cromwell's soldiers; and it was discovered then, that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone [c]."

Most of those that I have examined have had their bottoms sloped off, some towards the centre of the stone, others have

[b] See a description of these curious Druidical Monuments in *Archæologia*, vol. VIII. p. 210.

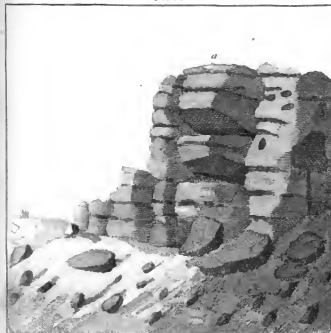
[c] Toland, vol. I. p. 106. 7



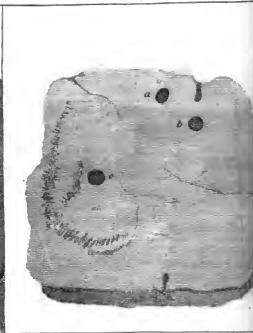
A Rocking Stone, on Ashover Common, Derbysh.



A Rock Idol, called the Turning Stone.



Stainedge Cliff, near Wingerworth.



Plan of the Stone with rock basin
Discovered by G. Cox.

had three sides sloped, and some only two; by this artful contrivance the stones could only be put in motion from some particular parts.

There is in the Peak of Derbyshire a very remarkable rocking stone, called by the country people *Robin Hood's Mark*; it stands on the edge of a declivity near the top of a hill on Ashover common, looking down upon Overton hall, an estate of Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. the respectable President of the Royal Society, who will undoubtedly preserve this curious Druidical monument.

Fig. 1. plate V. represents the South view of this rocking stone, which, from its extraordinary position, evidently appears not only to have been the work of art, but to have been placed with great ingenuity; the two upper stones (a and b) have been shaped to fit exactly with the two upright stones (c and d) on which they rest; and so artfully contrived, that the lower stone (b) moves with the upper stone (a). It measures about 26 feet in circumference.

That this is a Druidical monument formed by art, cannot, I think, be denied; we are assured that the Druids were well skilled in the art of magic, by which the superstitious Britons were led implicitly to believe in the miracles performed by these rocking stones.

At about two hundred yards North of this rocking stone, is a singular shaped rock called the *turning stone*. See fig. 2. plate V. It stands on the edge of a hill on Ashover common; height nine feet. It was a very ancient practice among the Britons to make three turns round their sacred rocks and fires, according to the course of the sun. Martin, in his account of the Western isles, says, "that in the Isle of Barry there is one stone about seven feet high, and when the inhabitants come

near it, they take a religious turn round according to the ancient Druid custom." Hence there is great reason to suppose, that the above-mentioned stone was a rock idol to whom the Druids offered up their devotional rites.

The augural seat, or rock chair, is another curious Druidical monument, which was never taken notice of till I discovered those on Harborough rocks [*d*]. In my visits at Wingerworth, the elegant and hospitable mansion of Sir Henry Hunloke, Bart. I had frequent opportunities of exploring that neighbourhood, and Sir Henry very obligingly shewed me some rocks upon his estate called *Stone-edge*, or more properly *Stainedge* cliff, at the East end of the moor, about two miles and a half from Wingerworth, and four from Chesterfield.

On examining the rocks upon this cliff, which is rather difficult of access, I found a large flat rock with five rock basins on the top, evidently cut with a tool. Fig. 3. plate V. is a view of the cliff where (a) is the flat rock with the basins. Fig. 4. plate V. is a plan of the top of that rock; the surface is 59 feet by 57, the rock basin (a) is 3 feet diameter by 2, and 1 foot three inches deep; that marked (b) is three feet diameter, (c) 3 feet 5 inches diameter; the two small oval basins are about 1 foot 8 inches in length, and each has a little channel to carry off the water when it gets near the top.

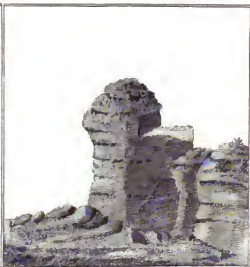
There is something remarkable in the chasms and little holes on the outside of these rocks, as may be seen in the perspective view fig. 3. They appear to have been formed by art, and were probably intended for the mysterious purposes of auguration, to which the situation is well adapted.

[*d*] See an account of these and other augural seats in *Archæologia*, vol. IX.

5



6



Two views of an Augural seat on Stainedge Cliff near Wingerworth.

7



8



Two views of another Augural seat on the same Cliff.

At about 140 yards East of the rock basons and in the same cliff is an augurial feat cut in a rock; see two views of this feat in plate VI. fig. 5 and 6; height 16 feet. At the distance of 30 yards East of this rock is another augurial feat, two views of which are represented in fig. 7. and 8.

The view fig. 7 is taken from the bottom of the cliff; its elevated situation made every attempt to measure it impracticable, but it bears the same proportion to the other, allowing for the distance in perspective.

Fig. 8 is the back part of the same rock, where there is another feat with a rock bason cut in the middle of it, evidently the work of art, which is also visible in shaping the front part, fig. 7, and where the stone (a) plainly appears to have been cut like a wedge to support the rock under which it is placed.

The mark of the tool is plainly to be perceived in forming, in a rough manner, these rocks for their occasional augurations. The rock basons seem necessarily connected with these augurial feats, as I observed in a former paper [c].

Dr. Borlase tells us, that "the Druids were the Magi of the Britons, and had a great number of rites in common with the Persians; now one of the chief functions of the Magi of the East was to divine, that is, to explain the will of the Gods, and foretell future events; the term *magus* signifying among the ancients not a magician in the modern sense, but a superintendant of sacred and natural knowledge [f]."

We are well assured that the Druids divined by augury, from the observations they made on the flight of birds and other ominous appearances.

[c] *Archæologia*, vol. IX. p. 208.

[f] *Antiquities of Cornwall*, chap. xxi. p. 138.

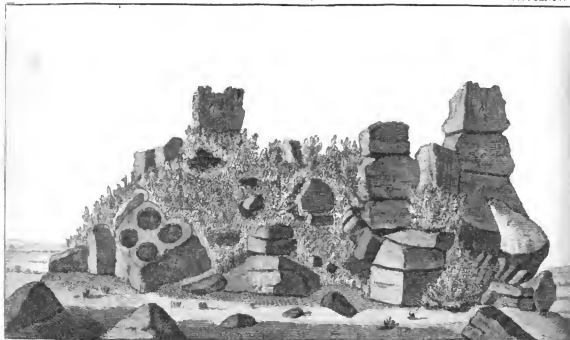
The above-mentioned learned author says, "The Druids also (as we have great reason to think) pretended to predict future events, not only from holy wells and running streams, but from the rain and snow water, which, when settled, and afterwards stirred either by oak-leaf or branch, or magic wand, might exhibit appearances of great importation to the quick-sighted Druid, or seem so to do to credulous enquirers, when the priest was at full liberty to represent the appearances as he thought most for his purpose [8]."

From the number of rock basins we meet with among other Druidical monuments it is evident, that they used this sort of hydromancy; and from the rock basin being annexed to the above-mentioned feat it seems as if the Druids thought it a necessary part in their mysterious rituals of auguration.

At the South-west end of Stanton moor, in the Peak, and in Hartle liberty, is an assemblage of rocks, which stand on the summit of a circular hill called *Graned Tor*, but more commonly known by the name of *Mock Beggar's Hall*. When I had the honour of communicating to the Society some years ago an account of the Druidical monuments in that neighbourhood, I had not an opportunity of examining this Tor with that accuracy which is necessary in the investigation of these ancient monuments; but having been since in the vicinity of these rocks, at the house of my worthy friend Bache Thornhill, esq. to whose politeness I am much indebted, I frequently examined every accessible part of this Tor, and, notwithstanding the many large rocks that have fallen from the top, there is sufficient evidence of its having

[2] *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 140.

been



N. W. View of Graneo Tor, or Clock Beggars Hall, at the S. W. end of Stanton D.



St. Rock del.

St. Rock del.

A near view of the Aperture on Graneo Tor.

In my account of the Brimstone rocks, I gave drawings of two that have apertures cut through them, in which there are rock basons [6]. These sheltered basons are very remarkable, and seem to have been so contrived, that no water could get into them but what had been first filtrated through their sacred rocks, which the Druids would look upon as having been divinely purified.

On the other side of the rock (f) in fig. 9, Plate VII. is an exact circular hole, as is seen in fig. 11, Plate VIII. which is a South view of the Tor. I found there was no possibility of getting near enough to examine this rock, but I should suppose, from the little channels on the other sides, that there are rock basons on the top.

There are many large rocks scattered about, which must have fallen from the top, where, when they stood erect, filling up every part of this elevated Tor, the effect must have been sublimely striking to the superstitious Britons, who had been taught to venerate those sacred rocks.

That the Druids had fixed upon this hill for the celebration of their religious rites, I think cannot be doubted; it was usual to inclose their places of worship, and here a fence of large rough stones now plainly appears to have surrounded the rocks near the bottom of the hill.

Fig. 12, Plate VIII. is a South-east view of three remarkable hills at the South end of Stanton moor, on which there are Druidical monuments (a). Carcliff rocks on the top are a rocking stone and several rock basons [7]; at the foot of these rocks at (b) is a hermitage [8]. The rocks marked

[6] *Archæologia*, vol. VIII. No. 4 and 8, plate 16.

[7] See a description of these in *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 111.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 112.

been a curious group of Druidical monuments. Fig. 9, Pl. VII. is a North-west view of Granded Tor; the rock marked (a) with four rock basons, is 29 feet in circumference, and plainly appears, from its present position, to have fallen from the top. The three stones (b, c, d,) seem to have been placed by art; and the uppermost is, I think, very likely to be a rocking stone, but there was no possibility of getting near enough to make the experiment. Whilst I was taking a drawing of this Tor, an old man who stood by, told me that he remembered when he was a boy, his grandfather's pointing to the stone (b), and saying, it had always been called the Great Altar, and that several other rocks had names, but he had forgot what they were. We are led by traditional accounts to form probable conjectures; and, as the Heathens always placed their altars on their highest ground, there is great reason to suppose that this elevated rock was a Druidical altar.

At the bottom of the third rock from the top, marked (d), is a large rock bason of an oval shape, diameter 4 feet by 2 feet 10 inches, which evidently appears to be cut with a tool; the rock (e) is placed slopingly against the rock (d), and forms a kind of cavity, big enough to hold three or four people, in which is the rock bason above-mentioned.

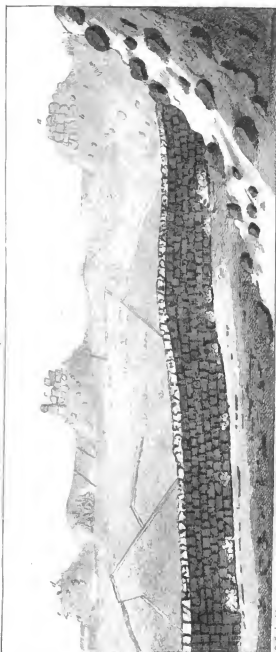
Fig. 10 is a near view of this aperture, whence there is a very extensive prospect, of course well calculated for the purpose of divination.

We have reason to suppose, that the Druids had the rite of water lustrations, and the priest might purify his hands in this holy-water, which had never touched the earth before he officiated at the high altar.



A view of Grand Tor.

N^o 12



N^o 13

A View of three Mills near Stanton, Moor, on which there are Druidical Monuments.

(c) form Graned Tor, or Mock Beggars Hall; the hill (d) is Dutwood Tor, where (e) is a rock canopy that hangs over an augurial seat; on the top of this Tor are three rock basons, evidently cut with a tool [f].

This view was taken from near the bottom of the hill (f), on which there are several large rocks called Bradley rocks; on the top is a large rocking stone [w].

I flatter myself you will agree with me in lamenting, that these curious remains of antiquity should have been so much neglected, and that the want of attention, in not making accurate observations on the form and construction of these rock monuments, should occasion a disbelief of their being Druidical.

I am, with great respect,

Dear Sir,

Your sincere and

much obliged

humble Servant,

H. R O O K E.

[f] See *Archæologia*, vol. IX. pp. 209, 210.

[w] *Ibid.* vol. VI. p. 111.

VI. *An Epistolary Dissertation upon the Life and Writings of ROBERT WACE, an Anglo-Norman Poet of the 12th Century. In a Letter to the Earl of Leicester, President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read December 4, 1794.

MY LORD,

IT was under the reign of Henry the Second of England that there flourished a celebrated Anglo-Norman poet named WACE, whose works, at that time the delight of the monarch and his court, are at present to be esteemed as one of the most ancient monuments of French literature; but inasmuch as France owes these precious relics to a king of Great Britain, and as their author was born in a country which has continually remained since the Conquest under the power of the English, you will, doubtless, my Lord, peruse with some degree of satisfaction a memoir upon the life and writings of this Poet. The discussion will probably be deemed interesting, both upon account of its novelty, and from the circumstance of this writer being altogether unknown to the English Biographers; besides, most of those learned men who have written upon his works have been entirely mistaken, either in the series of them which they have given, or in the opinions which they have adopted relating to them. It is my object, my Lord, to correct their errors; and I shall endeavour

deavour to do this with that diffidence which should ever guide the man of letters, and whilst it prevents criticism from degenerating into satire, will, doubtless, render it more worthy of your approbation.

The Poet Wace was born in the Isle of Jersey, and although the precise time of his birth is unknown, it is easy from his own works to ascertain it in a manner not very distant from the truth. This author informs us that he had seen three Henries, all Kings of England and Dukes of Normandy; so that he lived under Henry I. Stephen, Henry II. and Henry the eldest son of the latter, who was crowned king in his father's life-time, and died before him in 1183; he also mentions that he was *clerc lisant* under these three monarchs; from which it may be inferred that he was born in the beginning of the reign of Henry I., that is, in the early part of the 12th century.

Monsieur Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in his *Origines de Caen*, page 412, assures us that the Christian name of Wace was *Robert*; and Ducange in his *Dissertations upon the History of St. Louis*, page 108, gives him that of *Matthew*. It is impossible for us to determine upon which side the error lies; the poet, who often names himself in his works, has not amongst all those which we have perused, both in France and England, once mentioned his Christian name. Upon all these occasions he styles himself *Maitre Wace*, *Clerc-lisant*, or *Clerc de Caen*; nevertheless the opinion of Mons. Huet has prevailed, and is adopted by all the French and English Literati.

La Rocque in his *History of the House of Harcourt* [a], and Fevret de Fontette in his *French Historical Library* [b],

[a] T. III. p. 13 and 35.

[b] T. III. p. 569.

maintain that Wace lived under William I.; but this is an error the more manifest, as it is refuted by the Poet's own evidence, who declares that he lived under the three Henries, and he would have been equally particular had he been the Conqueror's subject [c]; besides, no skilful critic will regard the style of Wace as that of a writer of the 11th century; and since he himself in relating the history of William I. observes, that he had collected the facts from the mouths of those who were witnesses, or had taken them from the memoirs of those times, there is additional evidence that they did not happen during his own life, and that he cannot therefore be deemed contemporary with the Conqueror.

Monsieur de la Curne, in his Dissertation on the principal Monuments relating to the History of France, has said that Wace did not live before the 14th century [d], an anachronism too obvious to need a serious refutation.

Wace commenced his studies at Caen, a city which at that time had many celebrated schools. Some of these had been established about the middle of the 11th century by Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. If we are to form a judgment of them from the great men whom they have produced, they were equally famous with those which he originally founded in the Abbey of Bec [e].

To the schools of Lanfranc may be added those which were afterwards opened in the same city by the celebrated Arnould, a man, who was raised by his talents to the pa-

[c] Treis reis Henriz vi et connu,
Et clerc lisant en lur tens sui.
Rei d'Engleterre la garnie,
Et duc fu ent de Normendie.

[d] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. XV. p. 582.

[e] Neustria Pia, p. 655. Henry's History of England, vol. III. b. iii.

triarchal.

triarchal seat of Jerusalem. There was bred the celebrated Roger de Caen, whom he carried with him to the first crusade, and who has left us a history of it which is written in a style but little inferior to that of Tacitus [f].

It was about this period that the young Wace was sent from Jersey to Caen. After finishing the first part of his education, he travelled in France to complete it. Here, as he informs us, he remained some time; but it does not appear who were his other tutors, or in what places he received their lessons; whether it was however from being dissatisfied with his situation, or from the natural predilection of his countrymen in favour of the English government, it is certain that he returned to Caen. Henry I. often kept his court in this city; he had embellished it with many sumptuous edifices which still remain, and in this place Wace settled. Hitherto he had not written any thing, and here it was that he made his first Essay [g].

It is difficult to ascertain the first specimen he exhibited of the literature of his time. We know that he had composed many works, that he translated others into the language of his country, and that he particularly applied himself to the composition of light poetry and of Romances.

It was in the latter kind of writings that he excelled most. He assures us that he composed a great number of Romances; and, as most of them have been preserved, it is

[f] See this history in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, and in Meratori's *Collection of Italian Historians*.

[g] En lisle de Gerfui fui nez,
A Chæm fui petiz portez,
Illoques fui a letres mis,
Puis fui longues en France apries.

natural to conclude that they were held in the same estimation by his contemporaries as they have been by posterity [b].

It is proper to remark in this place, that the word *Romance* is not always to be understood as applicable to those chimerical tales which have no other basis than the imagination of the inventor. During the 12th, 13th, and even the 14th centuries, every thing that was written in French or Romance, or that was translated into that language, was generally termed a *Romance*. Philip de Than, the most ancient of the Norman poets, and William another poet of the same country, composed in verse a work upon the natural history of animals, and each of them called his works a *Romance*. Richard d'Annebaut, likewise a Norman poet, translated into verse the Institutes of Justinian, which he says he has *romanced*. Samson de Nanteuil versified the proverbs of Solomon; Helie de Winchester, Cato's distichs; and both of them call their translations a *Romance*.

We are not then to consider the Romances of Wace as the offspring of a fertile imagination which has created events for the purpose of embellishing them with the charms of poetry; on the contrary they are monuments of antiquity of the most respectable nature, inasmuch as they form for the most part a precious repository of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon history. When this poet wrote the history of events which preceded him, he drew his materials from memoirs which then existed. He often cites the authors upon whose faith he advances his facts, and of whom many have

[b] Quant jo de France repairai,
A Chaem longues conversai,
De romanz faire m' entremis,
Mult en ecris et mult en fis.

not

not been preserved to us. When he wrote the history of his own times, he always relied upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, or related what he himself had seen. In general he uses the greatest candour in his narrations, and though he may sometimes appear to deal a little in the marvellous, he takes care to observe that he has found what he advances so written, and that he gives it in the same manner.

After so authentic a profession of veracity, some modern authors who have treated Wace as a fabulous writer, may at least be accused of inaccuracy; but in commenting upon his works we shall perceive, that either from their not having sufficiently investigated them, or from their having copied from each other, they have committed a great many errors. Even the celebrated Huet, and the learned Tyrwhitt, the only persons who have spoken of Wace with any degree of accuracy, are not exempt from mistakes in their opinions of the life and works of this author. This we shall have occasion to observe in the course of the following details.

The work which we have thought fit to place at the head of the writings of Wace is his translation in verse of the famous *Brut of England*. This poem is so called from Brutus the great grandson of Æneas, and first king of the Britons. In it the poet often names himself, particularly at the beginning and end. He composed it in the year 1155; and, according to Layamon, a priest of Ernly upon Severn, who lived at this time, he presented it to Eleanor the wife of Henry the Second [1].

This translation contains the history of the kings of Great Britain, almost from the destruction of Troy to the

[1] Bibl. Cotton. Calig. A. IX.

year 689 of the common æra. Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, had imported the original from Armoric Britain, Geoffrey Arthur, otherwise called Geoffrey of Monmouth, translated it into Latin, and Wace into French verse.

Until this time there had been no idea whatever of the history of these British Kings; it had been unknown to venerable Bede. William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, when they wrote their histories of England, had unsuccessfully made the most exact researches concerning this early period; and it was not until the year 1139 that the latter of these historians became acquainted with the *Brut* for the first time. Travelling this year to Rome with Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, he resided some time in the abbey of Bec, of which this prelate had been abbot; there he met with the famous Robert de Thorigni, afterwards abbot of Mount St. Michael. This ecclesiastic, who was then composing his additions to the chronicles of Eusebius, St. Jerom, and Sigisbert, soon formed a connection with Henry of Huntingdon; and, in the course of conversation upon their respective works, presented him with the Latin translation of the history of British Kings, otherwise called the *Brut*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth. As the author of this work had taken care to make his chronology of these Kings accord with that of the Jews and the Romans, he gave to his fabulous history a very delusive appearance of reality; besides at this time criticism was hardly called into existence, and error was adopted in proportion as it was enveloped in the fascinating garb of the marvellous. Henry of Huntingdon made a Latin analysis of this work, and transmitted it to one of his friends in England [4], but this extract was not

[4] Bibl. Reg. 13 C. XI.

sufficient;

sufficient ; and, as Geoffrey had translated the *Brut* into Latin, Wace rendered it into French verse ; Layamon, and Robert de Brunne a Gilbertine monk, used the latter translation for their English poetical version ; and, finally, Rusticien de Pise translated it into French prose. In the British Museum are to be found several copies of Wace's *Brut*.

The first is in the Royal Library, 13 A. XXI. and written in the 13th century. The compiler of the catalogue in the account which he has given of this work in p. 218, informs us that Wace continued the *Brut* till the reign of William Rufus. This is an error which Mr. Casley would not have fallen into if he had only turned over the manuscript. He would have perceived, in p. 141, that Wace finished the *Brut*, as Geoffrey Arthur had done, at the death of Cadwallader, about the end of the seventh century ; after which follows the continuation of this romance by Geoffrey Gaimar to the reign of William Rufus.

The second is in the Cotton Library, Vitellius A. X. and also written in the 13th century. The author of the catalogue of this library has committed the same error, in not having remarked that Wace had a continuator. This is, however, the more difficult to perceive, because the continuator and his transcriber have not only incorporated the two works in such a manner that no title or other mark of distinction separates the respective parts of the two poets, but they have even suppressed the four last lines in which Wace has named himself and finished his work. This continuator is not the same as the former ; after having related some interesting facts during the reign of the Conqueror, and which are not to be found elsewhere, he passes with great rapidity to his successors as far as Henry III. whom he only

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I

names,

names, and not to the reign of Edward I. as the author of the catalogue had conceived.

The third is in the Harleian Collection, No. 6508. It is written in the 14th century, but contains only Wace's *Brut* without the supplement. The transcriber has written the name of the poet *Gazce* and *Gace*, according to the French practice of frequently substituting the G for the W.

Lastly, there is a fourth copy of the *Brut* in the library of Corpus Christi, or Benet College, Cambridge, of which an extract is given in the catalogue [1]. In this manuscript, which is of the 14th century, the poet is called *Wace*.

With respect to the French manuscripts of this work, there is a very superb one in folio in the Royal Library at Paris, which, in the opinion of connoisseurs, is supposed to be co-æval with the author. There are, without doubt, in the same library many other copies; but, as the catalogue of French manuscripts is not yet finished, it is impossible to say what that precious collection contains upon the subject.

According to what has been advanced by Fauchet, Galland, La Combe, Gebelin, La Ravalierre, and other French literati concerning *Wace's Brut*, it is certain that many other copies of the work exist in public and private libraries at Paris; but the discussion of the errors into which almost all these writers have fallen in treating of this poet, will easily demonstrate that the manuscripts they used were faulty, and posterior to those which have been here enumerated.

Fauchet was the first who fell into a mistake concerning the author of the *Brut* in French verse, in ascribing to him at the same time the different names of *Eustache*, *Huissace*, and *Wiflace*. Whether it was that he had read his manu-

[1] Nasmith's Catal. p. 32.

script falsely, that he conceived the name of Wace to be a diminutive of *Eustache*, or in short that the manuscript was really interpolated, which appears most probable, he placed at the head of the French poets an *Eustache* who never existed, and deprived of that honour the poet Wace, who had a more genuine and less disputable right to it [m].

And yet, with a small portion of criticism, and the slightest notion of the principles of French poetry, Fauchet might have easily perceived his manuscript was faulty, and have corrected the error. Indeed, if in the first place the verses themselves which he has cited from the manuscript to prove that Eustache was the author of the *Brut* be considered, it will immediately be seen that they are written in the modern style, and not in the native purity of the ancient Norman language. Again, if it be remarked that the verses in this poem are always masculine of eight syllables, and feminine of nine, in all the old manuscripts, one shall be surprized to find, that in Fauchet's manuscript those wherein the poet is called *Huiface* and *Wiface* are masculine of nine syllables, a practice absolutely contrary to that which the poet has invariably pursued throughout his work; whereas by substituting the name of *Wace*, as it is found in the ancient manuscripts, the verses acquire their precise and necessary measure.

But Fauchet was not the only person who was insensible that an ignorant or unfaithful transcriber had altered his manuscript. Monsieur Galland, in his treatise upon some of the ancient poets [n], likewise placed *Maisire Eustache*, author of the *Brut*, at the head of the French poets. This he did

[m] Recueil de l'origine de la langue et de la poésie Franç. liv. II. p. 82.

[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. II. p. 728.

upon the faith of a manuscript that had belonged to Tristan de St. Amand, and was then in the library of Monsieur Foucault. So far, however, from thereby supporting Fauchet's mistake, this learned man was in possession of the means of attacking it with advantage, and he actually does speak of another collection which contained the *Romance of the Kings of England*, by *Maitre Gasse*. Now, by comparing this second manuscript with the first he might have seen that the verses he has cited from it were the verses of the *Brut*; that he had consequently two copies immediately before him; that they only differed in the words *Eustache* and *Gasse*; and that in short the variation arose from an error of the transcriber, which the rules of criticism and poetry would have enabled him to have easily corrected. But the more easy it was to get at the truth, the more it seems to have escaped Monsieur Galland. He perplexed the affair in such a manner as to make of *Eustache* and *Gasse* two authors essentially different, and to ascribe to the first the *Brut d'Angleterre*, and the *Roman des Rois d'Angleterre* to the second, whilst they were literally one and the same work.

Without penetrating more deeply into the subject, Monsieur de la Ravioliere has revived the imaginary *Eustache*. He even attempts to prove that he was born in Poitou; he contends that the manner in which the poet celebrates the courage of the natives of this province in their combats against Brutus, at once discovers his origin; and that a writer cannot in this manner extol any other persons than his countrymen; but, as in all these arguments he seems to have forgotten that the poet only discharges the office of a translator, it is not difficult to perceive the fallacy of his logic, or the improbability of his opinions [e].

[e] Révolutions de la langue Franç. a la tête des poësies du Roi de Navarre. t. I. p. 145.

It is with concern that we find in Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry the existence of this *Eustache* renewed and defended [p]. This learned man had immediately before him the valuable manuscripts of the British Museum which refute it, together with Layamon and Robert de Brunne, who, in the 12th and 13th centuries, attest their having translated the *Brut* into English verse from the work of *Maitre Wace* [q]; and yet he prefers to these most weighty and decisive authorities that of Fauchet, who wrote at the end of the 13th century, and trusted to manuscripts equally faulty and unfaithful.

It is not worth while to take up more time in refuting the same error repeated by M. Rigoley in his *Bibl. Franc. de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier*, vol. IV. p. 245; by le Court de Gebelin, in his preliminary discourse to Vol. V. of his *Monde Primitif*, p. lv. by La Combe, p. xvii. of the *Preface*, vol. II. of his *Dictionnaire du vieux langage*; by Maffieu in his *Histoire de la Poësie Française*, p. 109; and by la Borde, in his *Histoire de la Musique Française*, vol. II. p. 138, &c. We are persuaded that these Literati, in other respects men to be held in much esteem, have implicitly followed each other, without examination or previous discussion of the subject.

The learned Benedictines, editors of the New Collection of French Historians, admit that Wace is the author of the translation of *Brut* into verse; they confess that *his name has been differently given by ancient and modern historians*; and, embarrassed without doubt by the confusion of names ascribed

[p] History of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 62.

[q] *Bibl. Cotton Calig. A. IX. Otho C. XIII.* Robert de Brunne, in *appendice ad Chronic. Pet. de Langtoft*, t. I. p. xcvi.

to our poet in various parts of the manuscript copies of his works, they are of opinion that the names of *Wissace*, *Huissace*, *Huace*, *Gace*, *Gasse*, *Guasé*, *Waice*, *Waife*, and even that of *Wace*, are all of them corruptions of the word *Eustache*, the true name to be adhered to [r].

But this decision being hazarded upon no foundation, and without proofs, we shall take the liberty of making a few observations upon the opinion which has been given by these learned compilers.

In the first place, we admit that modern writers have expressed the name of our poet in various ways; all of them have copied Fauchet, and have even added to his errors; but we shall venture to defy the reverend Fathers to cite a single ancient historian who has called him otherwise than *Wace*; and we have in our favour the testimony of Layamon and Robert de Brunne, who always call him so.

With respect to the manuscript copies of his works, we oppose against the Benedictines all those in the British Museum. The authority of these is so much the stronger, in as much as the poet being an Anglo-Norman, his works were better known in England and Normandy than elsewhere; so that his name never underwent any other alteration in those countries than by substituting the G. for the W. or *Gace* for *Wace*, in like manner as we find *Guillaume* for *Willaine*. If it was corrupted in the French manuscripts, it was upon account of its being less known in France, where the works of our poet were at first held but in little estimation. The king of Navarre is the only person among the old writers who has cited them [s]; but, as they are not in general favour-

[r] Nouvelle Collection des Historiens de France, tom. XIII. p. 220.

[s] Poésies du Roi de Navarre, t. II. p. . . .

able to the kings of France, flattery without doubt, and perhaps rivalry, were the causes of restraining the pens of other writers from doing the same; and to this alone, and not to a defect of merit, Monf. de la Borde ought to have ascribed their silence concerning this author [1]. Besides, it must be granted that the protection which Henry II. of England afforded to men of letters, contributed much to the progress of the Romance or French language: it is to him that we owe the histories of Normandy by the poets *Wace* and *Benoit*, the several translations of the *Brut of England*, with those of the *Romances of the Round Table*; in a word it was from England and Normandy that the French received the first works which deserve to be cited in their language. The first manuscripts of *Wace* that found their way into France preserved in that country their native purity, such as the *Brut* in the royal library, which has been already spoken of, and in which the poet calls himself *Wace*, as he does in those preserved in the British Museum. Monsieur Lancelot, who had examined many others of the same age, found in all the same denomination; but afterwards, when copies began to multiply in a country where the poet had not been known, every transcriber altered his name; and thence the very numerous variations which have deceived modern writers and occasioned their repeated mistakes. Such were, we apprehend, the real causes of the corruptions in the name of *Wace*.

But we cannot agree with the Benedictines, that this name is to be derived from that of *Eustache*; and, for the purpose of objecting to them an authority which precludes any reply, we beg leave to cite our poet himself, who, speaking of *Eustache d'Abbeville*, one of the knights who came over with

[1] Hist. gener. de la Musique Franc. t. II. p. 139.

William I. at the Conquest, calls him *Wiesface d'Abbeville*, and not *Wace d'Abbeville*. [u]

Before we finish this article, it will be proper to notice the equally erroneous opinions of Wanley and Nicolson [w]. Layamon having declared that he had rendered the *Brut* into English verse after the poetic translation of a French clerk whom he called Wace, both these bibliographers, upon inspection of his manuscript (Bibl. Cotton. Caligula A. IX.), read *Wate* instead of *Wace*; whence they inferred that *Wate* was a contraction of *Walter*; and that Walter de Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, having first brought over the *Brut* into England, it was he that had originally translated it into French verse.

But, in the first place, it is evident that they took the C in Wace for T, and it is a very easy matter to be convinced of this false reading by examining the manuscript in question, and those in which Wace is also named. Again, it is no where proved that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, was a Frenchman by birth; and if this Walter be Walter de Mapes, which we do not believe, it is clear from the evidence of all the English Biographers that he was born in Great Britain, which by no means agrees with the *French Clerk* mentioned by Layamon.

From what has been advanced concerning the translation of *Wace's Brut*, it manifestly appears, that it was the fate of this author, for more than two centuries, to have his name mutilated by the unskilfulness of transcribers, and of course to be but little known in the Republic of Letters. All the subsequent writers, to the historian Fauchet, who was the first that mentioned this poet, have increased the obscurity by

[u] Bibl. Reg. 4. C. XI.

[w] Nicolson's Engl. Hist. Library.

fresh

fresh mistakes. The learned Mr. Tyrwhitt was the first person who attempted to clear up a subject which from time to time became more involved in darkness, and to vindicate our author from the errors or injustice of modern writers. By means of sound criticism, the authority of the manuscripts in the British Museum, and the testimony of Layamon and Robert de Brunne, he proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Wace was the author of the translation of the *Brut* into French verse [x]. Lastly, Dr. Burney, by means of the rules of French poetry alone, demonstrated the want of fidelity in the manuscripts which had misled Fauchet and all other writers, who, as he had done, drew their materials from faulty and imperfect copies [y].

Wace's second work is the History of the Irruptions of the Normans into England and the Northern Provinces of France. No Bibliographer whatever has spoken of this Romance, which is written in verses of eight syllables. The author appears to have extracted all his materials from the chronicles which existed in his time, some of which have been published in Duchesne's Collection of Norman Historians. The opening of this poem is interesting from its details; the author discovers a prodigious knowledge of the history of nations and the revolutions of empires: he gives an ample nomenclature of the various names which were successively born by those nations, as well as the countries and cities which they inhabited. In a word, he shews that the histories of Greece and Rome were familiar to him; and he commends with much gratitude those learned persons who by their industry had preserved the valuable materials of ancient history,

[x] Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, vol. IV. p. 57.

[y] Burney's *History of Music*, vol. II. p. 230.

and who, in their own writings, had constituted those of modern history.

This Romance ought naturally to precede those of the Dukes of Normandy. There are two copies of it in the royal library at Paris, one of which had belonged to the President Bigot; but this last is very imperfect. A third, which was in the collection of André Duchesne, passed into the Colbertine library. Monsieur Lancelot, in his account of the Royal manuscripts and those of Colbert, has given a copy of this Romance, with the variations in the margin; this last copy is also in the Royal Library at Paris.

The third performance of Wace is the famous *Roman du Rou*. This name is derived from *Rollo* or *Raoul*, the first Duke of Normandy, who is the hero of the history, and not from the surname of *Roux*, given to William the Second, as Messrs. la Borde [z] and la Ravalierere [a] have intimated. This Romance is to be found at the end of the Romance of the first Irruptions of the Normans in the manuscripts already cited, as well as in the copy collated by Lancelot. It is written in verses of twelve syllables, otherwise called *Alexandrine*. Wace frequently names himself in this work, and informs us, that he composed it in 1160.

Messrs. La Combe [b], La Ravalierere [c], La Borde [d], and Warton [e], after depriving our poet of the glory of having first translated the *Brut* into French verse, have conceded to him that of being the author of the *Roman du Rou*; but they

[z] Hist. de la Musique Franc. t. II. p. 138.

[a] Poësies du Roi de Navarre, t. I. p. 154.

[b] Dictionn. du vieux langage, Pref. t. II. p. xviii.

[c] Poësies du Roi de Navarre, t. I. p. 151.

[d] Loco citato.

[e] Loco citato.

have at the same time maintained, against every semblance of probability, that the latter work was a continuation of the former. What is still more surprizing, the Benedictines, those men so profoundly versed in the knowledge of history, have likewise imagined the *Brut* to contain the first period of the English Monarchy, and the *Roman du Rou* the second [f]. On our part we candidly own, that it seems impossible to trace the slightest connection between the two works. For indeed, what affinity can there exist between truth and fiction, between a chimerical history of the British Kings and the authentic history of the dukes of Normandy; or between Cadwallader the last of the kings, who died in 689, and Rollo the first Duke of Normandy, who only began his reign over that province in 912? In short, what relation between the histories of England and Normandy before the famous epoch of the Conquest in 1066, when the two countries were first united under one Sovereign? A man must either have never read these works, or have perused them to little purpose, before he could have ventured upon such paradoxes. In a word, he must have been totally ignorant of English history to have suppressed in this manner the long reign of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

Monsieur Huet, and several others after him, have given out that Wace dedicated his *Roman du Rou* to Henry II.; but we can take upon ourselves to assert, that among all the manuscripts of this work which have come to our knowledge, no one is preceded by a dedication. It is true indeed, that at the beginning of his fourth Romance of the Dukes of Normandy, the poet confesses it was only *for the honour of Henry II.*

[f] Nouvelle Collect. des Historiens de la France. loc. cit.

that he had undertaken the histories of Rollo, of William Longsword his son, and Richard I. his grandson; but this motive, equally honourable to the monarch and the poet, being but vaguely expressed in a work absolutely different from the *Roman du Rou*, and posterior to it by more than ten years, cannot in strictness be termed a dedication.

There is no copy of the *Roman du Rou* in the British Museum, as the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt has maintained [g]. Mons. la Ravalierre in his History of the Revolutions of the French Language [b], had justly asserted, that the *Roman du Rou* was written in Alexandrine verse, or lines of twelve syllables. Mr. Tyrwhitt, in order to refute this, professed to have consulted a manuscript of the *Roman du Rou* Bibl. Reg. 4 C. XI. which he says is written in verses of eight syllables only. But in this he was too precipitate. Mr. Tyrwhitt, no doubt, contented himself with a simple inspection of the manuscript; and, without further examination, imagined he had got over the difficulty. But if he had only read the two first pages of the work, he would have perceived from Wace's own expressions, that this manuscript does not contain the *Roman du Rou*; it contains indeed nothing more than a continuation of the Romance of Duke Richard I. and that of his successors, till the sixth year of Henry I. The poet, before he enters upon his subject, takes care to announce, that he had already in his former works given the histories of Rollo, or *Rou*, and of William Longsword, as well as a great part of that of Richard I [i]; he refers to these as works of which
he

[g] Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, vol. IV. p. 78.

[b] *Poésies du Roi de Navarre*, t. I. p. 153.

[i] Pour l'onur al secont Henri,
Ki del lignage Roul nasqui,

he shall make no further use. Many other English writers as well as Mr. Tyrwhitt have been persuaded of the existence of the *Roman du Rou* in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 4 C. XI. But it is enough to have perused the beginning of this manuscript in order to be convinced of the contrary. Again, it is certain, that the *Roman du Rou* is not written in verses of eight syllables, but in Alexandrines, as Monsieur de la Ravalierre has maintained [4]. Extracts from it may be seen in Pere L'Abbé's Chronological Alliances, vol. I.; in the Dissertation upon the Right of Dependence which the Dukes of Normandy claimed from Britany, page 167; in Du Cange's Remarks upon the Establishment of St. Louis, p. 188; in p. lv. of the preliminary Discourse to vol. V. of Gebelin's Primitive World; and in La Combe's Dictionary of the old French Language, vol I. p. 357.

Wace's fourth work is the Romance of William Longsword the son of Rollo. It is the least extensive of any of the poet's writings, on account of the short duration of that prince's reign. This is also written in Alexandrine verse. It is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris, at the end of the *Roman du Rou*, among the same manuscripts, and in the copy collated by Lancelot.

Ai jeo de Roul lunges cunte,
Et de sun riche parente.
De Guilleaume lunge espee,
Avum lestoire avant menec.
Tant que Flameng cume felun,
Le tuerent par traifun;
De Richard sun fiz avum dit,
Ki sun pere leiffat petit.

[4] Loco citato.

✓ The fifth is the Romance of Duke Richard I. son of William Longsword. It is a great deal more ample than the preceding works, because the minority of this prince supplied the author with deeds of great importance, and because his reign was as long as it was brilliant. This history is likewise written in Alexandrine verse, and occurs in the manuscripts, ✓ and in the copy of Lancelot already mentioned. Although it contains the most remarkable events of Duke Richard's government, it cannot be regarded as a finished work, the poet having passed over in silence many important matters; but in the course of our details upon Wace's sixth work, the motives which induced him to leave this Romance imperfect may probably be found.

✓ The sixth is one of the longest; it contains, in nearly 12000 lines, the remainder of the History of the Dukes of Normandy. Wace resumes it at Duke Richard I. and continues it to the sixth year of the reign of Henry I. that is, to the famous epoch when this monarch, having taken his brother Robert prisoner, became thereby the peaceable possessor of England and Normandy. It appears then, that Mr. Warton has been guilty of a mistake, in asserting, that the Romance of the Dukes of this province went no farther than William Rufus [1].

This work has given occasion to a variety of historical and learned remarks. It appears in the first place, that Wace abandoned the plan which he had till then pursued, that is, he declined making any longer a separate Romance of the history of each Duke, but determined to unite into one work the remainder of the History of Normandy. He begins this

[1] History of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 62.

with

with the same introduction which he had placed at the head of his History of the first Irruption of the Normans; but we may perceive that he has retouched and augmented it considerably. He then gives a series of the works which he has already composed upon the three first Dukes of Normandy. He resumes the thread of their history till Duke Richard I. and gives some new and interesting details concerning that prince; he even presents us with some facts which he says historians had not dared to commit to writing, because they tarnished the memory of that Duke, and were only known by tradition.

Another instance in which the poet deviated from his plan, was in giving up his Alexandrine verses for those of eight syllables. He certainly found these last better adapted to the narrative style; at the same time we do not perceive in this Romance that elevation of ideas, that gravity of elocution, which are to be met with in the Alexandrine verses, and are oftentimes worthy of admiration in his preceding works.

The author names himself several times in this Romance, and as he speaks in it of Henry the Second's eldest son, whom he informs us he saw crowned in the life-time of his father, it may be thence concluded, that he composed it after the year 1170, when this event took place [m].

Notwithstanding the honours which our poet had received, and the very flattering invitations to continue his Romances of the Dukes of Normandy, it appears that he remained several years without writing. In those days authors do not seem to have made glory the sole object of their ambition. Wace complains much of the Mécèneses of his time, who confined themselves to barren compliments, and did not even give

[m] Roger Hoveden, *Annales*, ad ann. 1170.

him sufficient to defray a month's wages of his amanuensis ; he reminds them of happier days, in which the barons and their ladies knew how to honour and reward the historian who consecrated their names in his works, and transmitted them to posterity. But, though disappointment had compelled him to abandon his pen, emulation induced him to resume it. Henry II. entered into an engagement with a poet named Benoit, to reduce into verse the whole history of the Dukes of Normandy. Wace, jealous no doubt of the glory which this poet was about to acquire, was desirous at least of sharing it with him. Endued with an extensive facility in writing, and having already taken a part in the work, he did not hesitate a moment in absolutely completing it. He also in concluding it recommends the poet Benoit to avoid fatiguing himself to no purpose in the continuation of his own work ; he informs him that he has sung in his stead, and that, the wishes of the monarch being fulfilled, he may give up the task which had been allotted to him. Benoit, however, far from taking the advice of his competitor, determined to pursue the same career, and to leave him nothing more than the glory of having preceded him.

It is then to this fortunate rivalry that we are indebted for the greatest part of the history of the Dukes of Normandy by Wace. It is to be found at the end of the Romances of the three first Dukes in the manuscripts, and in the copy of Lancelot before cited. The Benedictines, in the XI. and XIII. volumes of their historians of France, have printed several fragments of this Romance, which they very improperly confound with the *Roman du Rou*. They inform us, that they originally intended to print the whole of it, but have preferred the giving a prose translation made during the thirteenth cen-

century, under the title of a *Chronicle of Normandy*. It is extremely to be regretted, that learned men have neglected the original for a copy far less interesting, and of necessity a great deal more verbose.

Lastly, this work is to be met with in the British Museum. Bibl. Reg. 4 C. XI. It is written in the thirteenth century. This is the manuscript which several learned men have supposed to contain the *Roman du Rou*. Montfaucon [n], and after him Mr. Casley [o], have erroneously given it the title of the History of England; whereas the author professedly details in it the History of the Dukes of Normandy to Richard I. and only treats of the other when there is an immediate connection. It is certainly this defective title which has induced so many learned men to believe, that the *Roman du Rou*, and the History of the Dukes of Normandy, were a continuation of the *Brut*.

The seventh work of our author is a sort of *compendium*, or abridged chronicle, of the History of the Dukes of Normandy. It is composed in the ascending manner, that is, it begins with Henry II. and goes backwards to Rollo. It is written in Alexandrine verse, and is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris in Monsieur Lancelot's copy before described.

The eighth is a history of the Origin of the Feast of the Conception of the Holy Virgin. This feast is very ancient and famous in Normandy. There is a tradition generally received in this province, that it was established by William the Conqueror. It was called *The Feast of the Normans*. To render it more brilliant, poetical games were established in honour of it; and whilst in the different provinces of

[n] Montfaucon, Catal. MSS. Regis Angliæ.

[o] Bibl. Reg. MSS. Catal. 4 C. XI.

France they celebrated the literary sports, so well known by the name of *Puys d'Amour*, where those who best sang of the beauty which inflamed them, received a crown in reward, the Normans celebrated their *puy de la conception de la Sainte Vierge*, and distributed prizes for the choicest pieces in verse that were composed in honour of the *Queen of Heaven*. These ancient establishments exist no where at present but among the Carmelites at Rouen, and in the University of Caen. In every year upon the eighth of December the authors of the *Pieces Couronnées* receive rings of gold, pens and jettons of silver, with branches of palm and laurel.

Wace is undoubtedly the first writer of French verses upon this Feast. The authors of the Catalogue of the Duke de la Valliere's library had originally ascribed his work to Gace Brulez, who did not live till the thirteenth century [p]; but, on further consideration, they have acknowledged, that it was the author of the *Roman du Rou* who composed it, and have pointed out the sources whence the poet drew the materials of his history [q]. The work is written in verses of eight syllables. It is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris, at the end of Monsieur Lancelot's copy of the Romances of the Dukes of Normandy.

Wace's ninth work is *a life of Saint Nicholas*, in verses of eight syllables, from which the learned Hickes has given several extracts in his *Thesaurus Literaturæ Septentrionalis* [r]. There is a manuscript copy of it in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; another in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and a third in the possession of Mr. Douce, a member

[p] Catal. de la Biblioth. de Monsieur le Duc de la Valliere, N° 2738.

[q] Suppl. de ce Catal. N° eodem.

[r] Hickesii Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, pp. 145, 149, &c.

of the Society of Antiquaries. The poet names himself at the end of the work, and says he composed it for the gratification of Osbert the son of Thiout.

The tenth is the *Roman du Chevalier au Lion*. Fauchet ascribes it to Chretien de Troyes, as do likewise the authors of the Catalogue of the Duke de la Valliere's library, who have certainly followed him; but Messrs Galland, la Ravaliere, and la Borde [1], conceived it to be Wace's; they even cite some verses from it, which undeniably prove that the work was composed by this poet in 1155. Both these opinions may be reconciled by supposing that Wace rendered it into French verse, and Chretien de Troyes into prose, in like manner as he did the Romance of Perceval le Galois.

It appears that our poet also composed several branches of the *Romance of Alexander*. De Bure ascribes to him some of those which are to be found in a manuscript copy in the Duke de la Valliere's library, N° 2702. It is true, that Wace's name is again disfigured there into *Yflace* and *Eufpace*; but, as Pasquier has wisely remarked, if our ancestors had written a good book, and it became necessary to copy it, this was done, not in the plain and simple language of the author, but in that of the transcriber. See the proofs which he has given in his *Recherches*, liv. VIII. chap. 3.

Mr. Tyrwhitt has suspected, and not without some reason, that Wace is the *Robert Guasco*, author of the *Martyrdom of St. George*, who is mentioned by the Abbé le Bœuf [2] as one of the oldest French translators; and it is, probably, this work which has induced the authors of the

[1] Locis jam citatis.

[2] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. XVII. p. 729.

Gallia Christiana to call him *Guasco* [u], and occasioned Monsieur Huet's assertion, that his Christian name was *Robert*. And, lastly, la Roque, in his History of the House of Harcourt, vol. III. p. 13, has printed a piece in verse upon the origin of this family, and ascribed it likewise to our Wace.

The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* have asserted, that he also composed a poem upon the Kings of France, the Dukes of Normandy, the earls of Poitou, and other Princes [w]. No Bibliographer has ever spoken of this work; and, after much enquiry, we are persuaded that Wace never wrote it. It is true, that in the course of his historical Romances he often speaks of the Kings of France, and sometimes of the Earls of Poitou; but it is only in those instances where their history has an intimate connection with that of the Dukes of Normandy which he did compose. It is certainly of this latter history that the learned editors mean to speak; but, having examined it with too little attention, they have mistaken the work, and given it an inaccurate title.

Wace has also mentioned some light poems which he composed; these he terms *Lais* and *Serventois*: but we do not know that any of them have come down to us.

Such a multitude of works from the pen of the same author engaged the attention of Henry II. who, to reward his merit, bestowed on him a canonry in the cathedral of Bayeux. Monsieur Lancelot in his explanation of the tapestry of Queen Matilda preserved in the treasury of that cathedral, has contended that Wace borrowed several facts which he could not have found elsewhere from that valuable monu-

[u] *Gallia Christiana*, t. XI. p. 363.

[w] *Ibid.*

ment.

ment [x]. It is certain, that, by means of the works of our poet, Monsieur Lancelot has very happily explained all the circumstances described in the tapestry; but we do not perceive how it is to be thence inferred, that the poet is necessarily indebted to it for several of his descriptions. Wace is so exact in citing his authorities, that his silence respecting what this monument presented him with, is, in our opinion, a certain proof that he did not make any use of it. Besides, the tapestry of Matilda only exhibits events relating to the Conquest of England; and this author had lived with so many eye-witnesses of it, that it is not to be wondered at, that, intending to write its history, he should have made the most minute researches, and have detailed upon this subject facts which are to be met with in no other historians whatever. In short, he informs us that his own father was present at the battle of Hastings; he relates the particular circumstances of it which he had learned from him; and he expresses himself throughout the whole with so much candour, that we are convinced he would have mentioned this tapestry if he had derived from it the least assistance.

Dumoutier, in his *Neustria pia*, says that Wace was canon of Caen [y]; but it is certain there was no chapter then established in that city. That of St. Sepulchre, which still remains, was not founded till 1219 by William Acarin [z]. It is true, that upon the 7th of March in the year 1153, Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux, founded three new canonries in his cathedral church, and to endow them, annexed the parish churches of Notre Dame, St. John, and St.

[x] Mem. de l'Acad des Inscript. t. VIII. p. 603.

[y] *Neustria pia*, p. 318.

[z] *Origines de Caen*, par Monf. Huet, p. 223. edit. of 1706.

Peter,

Peter, belonging to the city of Caen; perhaps Wace being afterwards provided with one of these benefices, might have been called *canon* of Caen, because the chief place of his prebend was situated in that city; this conjecture acquires the greater probability on account of a practice still existing in Normandy of describing every canon by the name of the place appropriated to his canonry.

Monsieur Huet, and almost every one of those who have spoken of our Poet, have maintained that he had been clerk of the chapel to king Henry II. Wace, however, mentions nothing concerning this dignity, although he minutely describes all the favours which that monarch conferred upon him; he is even so attentive upon this subject, that he assures us the king gave him many things, but had promised him more. Besides, as the title of Clerk of the King's Chapel was a very honourable one, which generally led the way to a Bishopric, we may presume from his silence that he was not invested with it. Monsieur Huet has certainly been misled by the description of *Clerk*, which Wace often assumes; but he should have remarked, that he never calls himself *clerc du roi*, but always *clerc de Caen*, or *Clerc lisant*, a title which then signified nothing more than a learned man, and which was even given to laymen, since Henry I. was surnamed *Beau-clerc*.

Such, my Lord, are the ideas which I have been able to collect concerning the life and writings of this author. With respect to the advantages that may be derived from his works, they will certainly furnish any one who may think it worth while to peruse them, with new light upon the history, the government, and the manners and customs of the Normans.

The

The Antiquary will at first remark with astonishment, that their language in Wace's time has been preserved even to our own days in the countries of Lower Normandy. He will perceive their progress in the various arts; their attainments in that of war; their arms and their military customs; their method of attacking castles and strong holds; the state of their marine and their commerce; the height to which they have carried architecture and other sciences, together with the monuments they have left us. The genealogist will find many curious and interesting facts relating to ancient families; he will feel himself rewarded in the perusal of the names of the knights who were present at the battle of Hastings; and of the noble actions by which each of them signalized his valour. In a word, the historian will learn with pleasure many circumstances and details which are not to be found in any other writer.

I remain, my Lord,

with the most profound respect,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient Servant,

London, 16th June, 1794.

D E L A R U E,

Royal Professor of History in the University of Caen.

VII. *Particulars of the Expence of the Royal Household in the Reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. Queen Elizabeth, &c.*

Read March 6, 1794.

IF we compare the expences of the Royal Household in former times with those of later dates, and observe the alteration of the value of money, and the progressive rise in the cost of provisions, the result will probably be, that the expence of His present Majesty's Household is not more than it was in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and is much less than it was in the time of her successor.

The articles contained in the very curious wardrobe account of Edward the Second published by the Society seem rather to relate to his extraordinary expences and preparations for war in Scotland, than to what we should properly call the expences of the household. The amount of the latter is, however, to be collected from the conclusion of the account, which, after stating the whole expences of the articles in that book to be

£.53,178 15 1

adds, “ Summa totalis exituum et expensarum garderobe per istum librum de anno 28, *una cum expensis hospitii Regis ejusdem anni* — —

64,105 0 5

Deduct then the above sum —

53,178 15 1

and the household expences will be

10,926 5 4

What

What might be the expence of Richard the Second I do not know; but, according to Holinshed, it must have been enormous, as he says there were 300 servitors in the kitchen, and every other office furnished at the like rate, and that *ten thousand* persons had meat and drink allowed them.

From the Pipe rolls it appears, that the greatest expence of Henry VII. was about £. 15,000 *per ann.* but this was afterwards lessened, and towards the end of his reign was reduced to about £. 13,000 [a].

Henry the Eighth, a prince fond of expence, began with about £. 16,000. *per ann.* and went on encreasing till in his 30th year the expence was £. 22,000.; in the 33d year it got up to £. 34,000. and the 37th to £. 40,000.

In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, she reduced her expence a little below what her father ended with, but, at the conclusion of her long reign, it was increased to £. 55,000.

[a] A certificate of King Henry the Seventh's expences of his household of the years following:

				Henry VIII.			
£. s. d.				£. s. d.			
A ^o .	2	14,374	10 0½	A ^o .	1	16,160	10 11
	4	15,168	6 11½		4	17,597	4 0½
	7	14,612	16 1		7	18,302	16 6½
	10	14,620	9 6½		10	18,489	15 9½
	13	14,422	14 4½		13	22,674	11 9½
	16	13,180	16 0½		16	19,720	16 2½
	19	13,248	10 5½		19	21,412	17 5½
	23	13,014	19 6½		23	24,908	14 0½
					27	23,461	10 8
					30	22,339	5 4½
					33	34,168	6 5½
					37	40,014	9 8

A little before her death she was very uneasy at finding her household expences run so high, and the following account of a conversation which she had on the subject with Mr. Brown, one of the officers of her green-cloth, is truly characteristic of her. She died shortly after, and before any thing had been done to correct the abuses complained of.

The original of this paper is amongst some that were collected by Sir Julius Cæsar. It is indorsed.

“The late Q. Ma^{ty} speeches often tymes to R. Bro: for household causes.”

Richard Brown's s^{vice} to the late Queene, and her M^{ty}. speeches and com^{ts} at sundrie times to him for household causes knowen to some of the Lo: in Council and White-staves.

“The household charges abridged from £.50,000 to £.44,000 *per ann.* for in two offices onlie £.2,000. *per ann.* abated.—Larder—Poultrie—her Ma^{ty} has notwithstanding told Browne, that in the beginning of her raigne lesse than £. 40,000. defrayed the charge. Browne answered, that all provic^{ions} then weare cheaper. The Queen said, that may bee soe, and I save by the late compoc^{on} [b] (as I am informed) £. 10,000 *per ann.* and therefore I charge yo^r examyne the difference of some yeare in the begininge of my raigne with one yeares expences now, and lett me understand ytt.

“An examinac^{on} and conference was made betweene the third yeare and the 43th yeare, yt was found that in bread, beare, wyne, wood, coles, wax-lights, torches, tallow-lights, and some meete, and other allowances of incidents, necessities, carriages, wages, &c. to the some of £. 12,000. *per*

[A] A composition paid by the counties in lieu of purveyance.

in the Reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. Elizabeth, &c. 83

ann. at the least, more was spent in a^o. 43th. then in a^o. 5th Reg^a. and no sufficient warrant for the increase, whereby yt did playnlie appeare, that the booke signed by her Ma^{tie} for the honorable allowance to all p^{er}sons was not exceeded.

“ The Queenes Ma^{tie} being informed of this difference, and being therewith moved greatlie, said, And shall I suffer this, did not I tell yo^u, Browne, what yo^u should fynd, I was nev^{er} in all my government, for royallie, with nombers of noble-men and la^{ies}: attended upon, as in the beginninge of my raigne, all offices in my co^unt being supplied, wth now are not, and all those then satisfied with my allowance, agreed upon by my councell and signed by me, wth that care as by all former princes hath bene used. And shall these now that attend, and have the like allowances, not rest contented, I will not suffer this dishoⁿest. spoile, and increase that noe prince ever before me did, to the offence of God, and great greivance of my lovinge subjects, who, I understand, daylie complayne, and not without cause, that there is increase daylie of carryadges and of p^{ro}vic^{ion} taken from them, at low prices, and wastfullie spent within my co^unt to some of their undoings, and now myself understanding of yt, they may justlie accuse me, to suffer yt, with many other discontented speeches, delivered with great vehemencie, complayninge of the weaknesse of the whitestaves to suffer yt, and accusinge herself for makinge for slender choice, with many more speeches, &c. But my speedie order for reformat^{ion}, shall satisfie my lovinge subjects greaved, for I will end as I beganne with my subjects’ love.”

In another hand is written,

“ yt ys no marvell thoughe those grevan^{ts} were
compl. in parliam^t.”

M 2

“ Those

" Those that are nearest me, and have daillie great benefit by suits, have these wastfull increascs daylie, but my whitestaves and those of my greencloth, by whom all good orders and hono^{ble} allowances should be maynteyned, are principal falters herein, for noe increase can be without their privitie and unlawful warraunt, whereby I fynd the difference of officers now, and in the beginninge of ow^r raigne.

" Whereupon her Ma^{tie}. gave straight charge and comandm^t to Browne [c] forthwith to repayre to the Lo: Treasurer, Lo: Admiral, and the whitestaves of the howshoold (w^{ch} Browne did), that order might be taken to abridge all messes of meate, and other expences, more than the booke signed doth allowe, and further said, myself will speke unto them, and geve them charge, and then let me see or learn, what he in my house that dareth breake and disobey my orders and comanadem^t signed, with verie bitter speeches, that sh^ee would cleanse her co^{rt}, and not suffer such a number of p^{er}sons and famylies more than are to bee allowed to bee kept within the co^{rt}, whereupon her Ma^{tie} sent certen noates to the white staves, to be put in p^{re}sent execuc^on, in the meane tyme, before the effectinge whereof yt pleased God to take her Ma^{tie} to his mercie."

Oeconomy was not one of the virtues possessed by James the First (if indeed he possessed any), and when he came to the land of plenty, he had no idea of limiting his expences. The estimate for the first year was £.76,954. 2s. 5d¹/₂, besides £.16,000. for the prince, making together £.92,954. 2s. 5d¹/₂

[c] In the margin is written in another hand,

" butt ye beste of them wole have byn contente wth lesse

" then my book allowethe, rayther, &c."

" butt I will send some of them home yff my comts

" be not better regarded."

In his fourth year his household expence was £. 97,421. 2s. 3d. From Michaelmas in his seventh year to Michaelmas in the eighth year, it was £. 129,863. 9s. 0d¹. and yet the king had corn and cattle served by the several counties at under prices, that the farmers might get rid of purveyors, the benefit of which was estimated to the king at £. 38,000.

Prince Henry's expences kept pace with his father's. At the first establishment of his household, 20th July,

1 James I. anno 1603, he had servants 70

A few weeks after a second book was signed, when they were encreased to 104

In the next year they amounted to 141

besides servants of these servants who had intruded themselves into the court 130

The 141 soon multiplied into 215

besides workmen of various sorts, and 13 extraordinary.

In 1608 they were 233

and with the masters, the number of servants also encreased [d].

The book signed by his Royal Highness in 1610 gives the names of 297 with wages, 129 without, 426

besides various workmen, among whom is Inigo Jones, as surveyor of the works [e].

The following letter, the original of which is amongst Sir Julius Cæsar's papers, mentioned above, will shew the consequence of this want of management.

It is indorfed

“ To the right honorabl my very good Lord the Erl of Dorset, L^d High Treaferur of Englande.”

[d] Sir Julius Cæsar's papers.

[e] Ordinances of the Royal Households, p. 317.

Right honorabell my very good Lord :

“ According to my duty I have beene always carefull to fave al needles expence in the Prince’s house. But the continual increafe of new fervants dayly sent hether by warrante procured without my knowlege, has brought the charge so farr out of frame, that it [f] hard to conceive a courfe how to lessen it, feing the necessary increafe of many moor will follow the Prince’s advancement in years and dignitie. Notwithstanding least I should seeme to bee careles, or over curious to search into other mens actions, if it shall please your L^p to commande mee by a letter, to call the officers of this household to advife of some redrefs, unto further inconveniences, I hoope both to give your L^p good accounte of the present estate of our expence, and to make some overture how to reforme, or at least to prevent futur accidents. The note that I sent your L^p: containing a breefe of such orders as I desir to bee ratified for avoyding confusion and disorder in the table, I beseech your L^p to confider of, and to propounde them not simply as a fute of myne, but as a matter generally requisite for the better government of his Highnes house. And as my duty always binds mee I rest,

St. James,

Your L^p assuredly to commande,

Jan. 27.

THO. CHALONER.”

Sir Thomas Chaloner, in a letter to Sir Julius Cæsar, dated 7 Nov. 1607, mentions some of the above circumstances, says he would (at the first) have undertaken to maintain the (Prince’s) house to the king’s honour for £8000. yearly, provided they might have good payment of the money ; that in the first year he dismissed of unnecessary dependants on the

[f] It is so in the original.

house at least 3 score, whereof many had passports to return to their own country, and he utterly refused all suitors who addressed themselves to him to obtain some place about the Prince, and then he complains of the great encrease, without warrant, as well as with, and of the number of suitors waiting for places. He says, that for the want of ready money, the purveyors are forced to take up meate on trust, and then serve it out so small and ill, at a price so high, that the king had better borrow money at 20 *per cent*.

It seems that king James's servants took much pains in endeavouring to lessen his enormous expence, and formed various projects for that purpose. They obtained an account of the French king's household expence, which was not so great as King James's. The heads of it were as follows :

			Sterling.	
The Table and Kitchen	_____		35,718	3 6
The stables	_____	_____	7,620	0 0
Domestic officers	_____	_____	9,000	0 0
The office of plate	_____	_____	8,180	0 0
The Treasurer of the chamber		_____	12,893	5 0
The gardes du corps		_____	5,400	2 0
The provost of the household		_____	3,000	0 0
The hounds and falcons	_____	_____	3,642	14 0
Total			80,454	4 6.

In 1622 King James's expence was reduced to 78,995 7 8, but he soon after made additions to it.

The

88 *Particulars of the Expence of the Royal Household, &c.*

The household expence of King Charles II.

from 1 October, 1663, to the last of Sep-	£.	s.	d.
tember, 1664, was —	57,275	1	0½
to which is to be added for the Duke of York	10,000	0	0

* The household of King James II. in 1687

Household coffers	76,118	6	6½
Stables —	14,336	19	1½
	90,455	5	8

† King William and Queen Mary, 1 Oct.

1691, to the last of Sept. 1693 —	114,685	7	3½
King William alone from 1698 to 1699	90,735	1	2½
Queen Anne, 2 years, Oct. 1703—1705	167,421	4	2
the average — —	83,710	12	0
1 year, Oct. 1712—1713	89,044	6	10
King George I. Oct. 1715—1716	75,619	7	7½
1723—1724	86,097	19	2½
King George II. 1730—1731	118,487	2	1½
1731—1732	124,806	17	6½
1 Jan. to the last of Dec. 1759	108,290	10	2½

At the accession of his present Majesty a considerable reduction was made in the household expences. An increase attended the increase of his family, but they were again reduced in 1782.

* This account is taken from a book in the possession of the rev. T. Wrighte, one of the Secretaries to the Society.

† In this and the subsequent reigns the expence of the stables is included in the total sum.

VIII. *Extract from a Proclamation made in the 20th Year of the Reign of King Henry VIII, for dividing certain Lordships and Towns to be annexed and knit into divers Shires near the Marches of Wales. Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Wrighte, Secretary.*

Read November 6, 1794.

BY virtue of this proclamation the lordships, towns, parishes, commots, hundreds, and cantreds of *Ofwestry, Whittington, Masbrook, Knoking, Ellefmere, Downe, and Churbury* hundreds, in the marches of Wales aforesaid, and every of them, and all and singular honours, lordships, castells, manors, towns, hamlets, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, lying and being within the compass or precinct of the said lordships, towns, parishes, &c. were united, annexed, and joined to the county of Salop, and the lordships of *Ofwestry, Whittington, Masbrooke, and Knoking*, were thus united, to be called and known by the name of the hundred of *Ofwestry* and county of *Salop*, &c. and the lordships of *Ellefmere* were united to the hundred of *Purhill*, and those of *Downe* to the hundred of *Churbury*. By a subsequent statute made in the 34th and 35th of the same reign, the town and hundred of *Aberton*, before part of *Montgomeryshire*, were likewise annexed to the county of *Salop*.

VOL. XII.

N

To

To the above extract, were added some conjectures concerning the situations of certain Roman stations in that part of the country.

According to the second iter of Antonine, the distance, "*Deva Uriconio*," or from Chester to Wroxeter, is M. P. LIII, thus:

Deva Leg. xx Victrix.

<i>Bovio</i> , M. P. X.	Bangor, Flintshire.	
<i>Uriconio</i> , M. P. XI.	Wroxeter,	} Salop.
<i>Mediolano</i> , M. P. XX.	Middle,	
<i>Rutunio</i> , M. P. XII.	Rowton,	

The distance from Chester to Wroxeter by the direct road through Shrewsbury and Ellesmere, according to Patterfon, is 45 miles, allowing therefore for the difference between English and Roman miles, 45 English being nearly equal to 49 Roman miles, it follows, that the second iter of Antonine proceeded almost in a direct line, *Deva Uriconio*, and consequently, we are not to look for the intermediate stations very far wide of each other.

Deva Bovio, M. P. X.

Since Mr. Horsley's time traces of the Roman road leading through Eccleston and Old Ford have been discovered, where the road seems to have been divided, one branch going directly towards Bangor in Flintshire, and the other through Stretton and Malpas to Wirs Wall near Whitechurch, on the borders of Shropshire, where it joined the road leading to *Condate Mediolano*.

Bovio Mediolano, M. P. X.

From Bangor the road seems to have gone along *Trench lane* to Ellesmere, and from thence in a direct line to *Middle* in Shropshire.

Mr.

Mr. Horsley was not satisfied in this place, and chose rather to fix Mediolanum at *Drayton*. His reasons for giving the preference to Drayton were examined and compared with those of other Antiquaries who have sought for the situation of Mediolanum either between the Dee and the Severn, where Major General Roy supposes it to have been, or between Chester and Wroxeter, where Mr. Horsley himself was disposed, he tells us, to look for it, or to the South or South-East of Chester, according to Mr. Whitaker, all of them pointing directly to the situation of *Middle*, where, in the opinion of Dr. Tilston of Chester, we ought to place *Mediolanum*.

In confirmation of this opinion an account was then given of the traces there discovered of a Roman road before noticed by Mr. Percival (*Archæol.* vol. I.), leading from Kinderton through Nantwich and Whitchurch to Wroxeter, which of course must have passed by Middle.

Mediolano Rutunio, M. P. XII.

From Middle the Roman military way, instead of proceeding in a direct line through Shrewsbury to Wroxeter, took a short circuit to Shrewsbury; and as Camden, Gale, Baxter, and others, are unanimous in their opinions, that Rutunio was at this place, it was not thought necessary to say much in confirmation of it. "*Nec in hoc falsi esse possumus*," says Camden. *Rowton**, adjoins to *Wattlebury*, a clear proof that the course of the Watling-street passed through that part of the country.

Rutunio Uriconio, M. P. XI.

* *Rutunium* is placed at the Bunfwalls, a camp near Hawkstone and the river Roden. *G. nt. Mag.* vol. LXV. p. 725.

From Rowton the Roman road has lately been traced to Wroxeter through *Stretton* by *Edge* and *Lea Cross*, in the parish of *Pontesbury*, about six miles from Shrewsbury, where a Roman tessellated pavement was discovered in November, 1793, and a drawing of it by Thomas Telford exhibited to the Society.

At Wroxeter the Roman road divides, one part going through the Strettons to Brandon camp in Herefordshire, the *Bravonium* of Antonine; the other towards Staffordshire through *Uxacona* or Okenyates in Shropshire. A sketch of the course of the abovementioned roads was exhibited at the same time.



Basileus-Roma

IX. *Description of a Carving in the Church of Long Melford. By Craven Ord, Esq. F.A.S. In a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read December 4, 1794.

MY LORD,

AS the ornaments of churches have of late been considered in the different publications of this Society, give me leave to communicate a drawing [a] of a *Table* (as we find these carvings called in ancient wills) now remaining in the North wall of the church of Melford, in the county of Suffolk, and which a few years ago was dug up from beneath the pavement, where it is not improbable it had lain many years.

This carving is of alabaster, richly gilt and coloured, and represents the offerings of the Wise men [b].

Similar representations from the Scriptures, or remarkable passages in the lives of the Saints, were not very uncommon in our parochial churches, as we learn from wills, but few

[a] Plate IX.

[b] Their names and offerings are mentioned in a charm against the falling sickness.

Jasper fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum.
Hec tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,
Solvitur a morbo, Christi pietate, caduco.

of

94 *Description of a Carving in the Church of Long Melford.*

of them at present are to be met with, many of them, no doubt, like this, having been buried at the Reformation.

Sometimes these histories are represented by paintings on board. All these bore the name of Tables, *Tabule*.

In 1458 money was bequeathed, “ad novam *tabulam* de “alabaſtro de historia Sanctæ Margaretæ in the church of Dunwich in Suffolk.” Four marks were bequeathed to buy a *table* of alabaſter of nine female ſaints in Saint Peter’s church, Norfolk [c].

In 1510 Robert Clerk wills to be buried in the church, and a *table* “of Saint Thomas of Ynde [d], which I have cauſed “to be made; I will have it ſtand in Batfield church, “Norfolk.”

Beſides theſe *tables* and ſtatues of ſaints, there uſed to be a more harmleſs imagery than of divine perſons, the walls and windows of our churches being ſometimes ornamented with *moral representations*; as over the North door of the North aiſle of Windham church, Norfolk, is a painting on the wall, repreſenting naked people in a boat in great danger, and ſeveral others ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake; on the right hand, and on the left, the devils, ſome offering a can of drink, others a purſe of money, encouraging ſinners to their own deſtruction.

[c] A drawing of this Table may be ſeen in Mr. Carter’s Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, vol. II. plate 8.

[d] Saint Thomas, according to the legend of Antiquity, preached the Goſpel in India. At the end of the 9th century, his throne (perhaps in the neighbourhood of Madras) was devoutly viſited by the ambaffadors of Alfred. Saint Thomas is ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom near that city. There the Portugueſe founded an epicoſpal church under the name of Saint Thomé, and there the ſaint performed an annual miracle till he was ſilenced by the profane neighbourhood of the Engliſh. See La Croix, tom. ii. p. 7—16.

In

Description of a Carving in the Church of Long Melford. 95

In a North window of Heydon church, Norfolk, are painted many young swearers, drunkards, dice-players, and other profligate livers, with a representation of hell, and such sinners in its flames. From the mouths of the youths are labels with oaths. After which is a moral representation.

If these slight notices should induce any person to enter more largely into the consideration of the *ornaments of our churches*, I have no doubt much curious information might be collected of the several religious customs, and modes of thinking that prevailed in former times.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

With great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Bloomsbury square,

Dec. 4, 1774.

humble Servant,

C R A V E N O R D.

X. *Account of a Roman Sepulture lately found in Lincolnshire. By Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.*

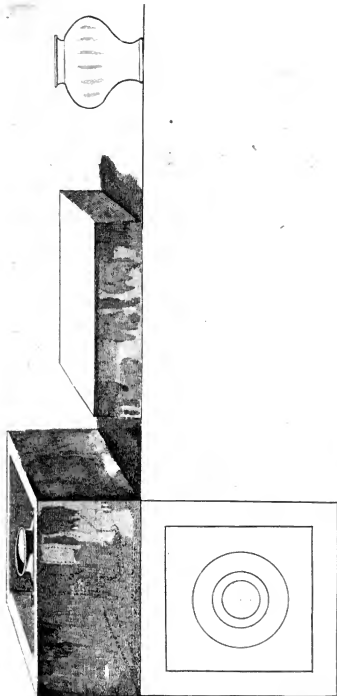
Read December 11, 1794.

THE Urn and Stone Chest, of which the annexed drawing is a representation *, were found on the 26th of October last at Ashby Puerorum in Lincolnshire, by a labourer employed in cutting a ditch, to separate the cultivated part of a ploughed field from a road which passes along one side of it. The top of the stone chest lay three feet below the surface of the ground, no elevation whatever was observable in the soil over it, and the road near which it lay is not an ancient highway, having been set out as such under the powers of an Enclosure Act a few years ago.

The lid of the chest fitted the sides neatly, and rather hung over the edges, so that when it was removed no dirt of any kind had gained admittance within, during the long period of time which had elapsed since it was deposited in the earth.

As all the dimensions are accurately marked on the drawing, it is needless to repeat them; the chest is of freestone, such as is found in abundance on Lincoln heath; the urn is made of strong glass well manufactured, greenish, but not more so than green window glass usually is. When found it was perfect in all respects, and had not suffered any of that decay which generally renders the surface of Roman glass of a pearly or opaline hue; for the surface was as smooth and as firm as if it had newly come from the fire.

* Plate X.



It was nearly quite filled with small pieces of bones much burned, many of them being white throughout their substance. Among them were the fragments of a small lacrymatory of very thin and very green glass; it had probably been broken in consequence of the curiosity of the finder, as he acknowledged his having poured out the contents of the urn upon the grass, in hopes of meeting with money, before he brought it to his employer.

The circumstances attending this sepulture clearly prove it to have been Roman. It is, however, singular that the place chosen for depositing the remains of the deceased was not, as was customary with that people, near to a highway, and that it does not appear to have been the burial place even of a family; for, although the trench in which the chest was found has been cut quite across the field, no traces of a body having been buried in any other part of it were observed.

Horncastle (the *Barovallum* of Stukeley), where evident remains of Roman buildings are still left, is the nearest Roman station, and is about five miles distant from Ashby. No traces of that people have been observed nearer to the place where the urn was found, except that a few coins of brass or copper dug up some years ago in an orchard at Stainby, about half a mile distant, are said to have been Roman, but these were not preserved, and as no recollection can now be traced of the names of the emperors by whom they were struck, it must remain doubtful whether they were Roman or not.

The neighbourhood is pleasant in the extreme; a dry sandy soil moderately fertile, hills gradually rising in slopes, and commanding from their tops an extensive and varied prospect,

speet, and brisk rills of transparent water running along the bottom of almost every valley, render it a place peculiarly adapted for the situation of a country house. As no people have shewn more taste in chusing agreeable spots for the situation of their villas than the Romans have done, it is far from improbable that the site of an ancient Roman villa will some time be discovered not far from the field where this sepulture was found; and as the size of the urn, and the excellence of the glass, a costly material in the time of the Romans, prove the family that made use of it to have been opulent, it is probable that the tessellated pavements, which are frequently unimpaired by the lapse of time, will prove to be of an elegant taste, and of costly workmanship.

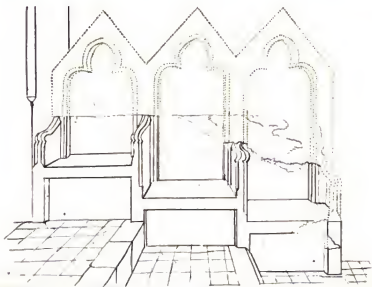
XI. *Short Notices relating to the Parish of Llanvetherine in Monmouthshire. Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Wrighte, Secretary, February 5, 1795.*

L *Llanvetherine* is an obscure village in Monmouthshire, about five miles from Abergavenny, and ten from Monmouth. It takes its name from the patron St. *Veterinus*, to whom the church is dedicated. The parish is of very considerable extent, but not proportioned. It is supposed to contain above 2,000 acres of land, which are here called *Covers*: three covers make two statute acres. The parish register begins 1690. The church itself is not very antient, and the only thing remarkable about it is a large square stone placed against the South wall of the chancel, whereon is rudely cut the effigy of a Saint in a long gown and hat, bearing in his left hand something resembling a small box or basket, and in the other a label, whereon is inscribed in Roman characters S. VETERINUS. No account of this Saint could be obtained on the spot, except that the stone abovementioned was discovered many years ago in digging a grave in the church yard, and placed where it now stands. From the mutilated inscription round it it appears to have belonged to the grave of some former rector of the parish, the words *Jacob* and *P'son Ec.* being still legible.

The *Veterani* or *Vavaffores*, it is well known, were feudal vassals of greater and inferior rank, of which the following account may be gathered from Du Cange: *Vervaffores vel Vavaffores generatim sunt vassalli feudales. Alii sunt majores, alii minores. Majores sunt qui regis vel regni vavaffores appellantur*

lantur iidem qui capitanei, qui a ducibus, marchionibus, & comitibus: minores vero qui a majoribus vavassoribus feuda acceperunt. Concerning the etymology of the word, says Bracton, "*nihil melius dici poterit quam, vas fortitum ad valetudinem.*" By *Veterinus* may therefore be meant some great feudal baron, the founder of the church, to whom it was dedicated, as having bequeathed money for the building and endowment of it; neither does there seem any thing very extraordinary in this. Churches were always dedicated to God, and not to Saints, Martyrs, or Founders, though sometimes distinguished by their names for a memorial of them. The naming of a church, says Mr. Bingham, by the name of a Saint or Martyr was far from dedicating it to the Saint or Martyr, though it served for a memorial of him among the living; and so far was an honour to his memory, though dedicated only to God and his service: and this is farther evident from this consideration, that churches were sometimes named from their founders, who certainly did not intend to dedicate churches to themselves. In proof of this last assertion, Mr. Bingham refers to several authors, and we have an instance, perhaps, before us in confirmation of it.

In such obscure parts of the kingdom ancient customs are frequently retained. As an instance of this it may be noticed, that the common people of this parish tie a dirty cloth about their heads when they appear as chief mourners at a funeral. The same custom likewise prevails in different places.



1100 (1) Stalls in the Church of Upchurch, Kent.

XII. *Mr. Denne's Observations on a Triple Stone Seat at Upchurch in Kent. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.*

Read February 19, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

MR. Thomas Fisher has favoured me with the inclosed delineation * of a triple stone seat in the chancel of the church of Upchurch, a parish in East Kent, situated between Rainham and the river Medway; and, as, to the best of my recollection, these stalls differ in form from any specimen hitherto exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, I am inclined to believe that this representation of them may not be unacceptable.

Had the drawing passed under my inspection before I had concluded my remarks on stone seats in general, I should certainly have offered it as an instance in point to corroborate the notion I had advanced, that the stalls yet extant in the chancels of many of our parish churches, were not originally constructed for the convenience of the officiating clergy, but for the use of the impropriators, who had unquestionably a right of admission into the chancel during the celebration of divine worship.

The church of Upchurch belonged to the Premonstratensian abbey of Lisle Dieu in Normandy, and that religious house seems, at an early period, to have acquired an appropriation of it; because when archbishop Wittlesey, in the year 1369,

* Plate XI.

augmented

augmented the portion for the maintenance of a perpetual vicar to five marks *per* year, it is set forth in the instrument of ordination, that it had been for some time appropriated. The hospital of St. Catharine near the Tower appears to have had a temporary interest in this church; but king Henry the Sixth, in the 17th year of his reign, at the request of archbishop Chicheley, granted the appropriation of Upchurch, and the advowson of the vicarage, to the newly established college of All Souls in Oxford, in which body they still remain. In the eighth year of Richard the Second this church was valued at £.23. 6s. 8d. and the parsonage now consists of a house, other buildings, yards, &c. and of eighty-two acres of glebe land, of which seventeen are arable, sixty-four of meadow, or fresh marsh, and two salt marsh, together with the tythes of more than 500 acres of land [a].

By the munificence of the founder the college is also entitled to a capital manor farm in the parish, situated at a small distance westward from the church. It is called Horsham, and contains upwards of 1000 acres of land [b].

As the society had in this district possessions so ample and beneficial, the management of the estate must often have required the superintendence of some of its principal members. During their abode, when they resorted to church, there cannot be a doubt of their having placed themselves in the chancel, which was to be repaired at the expence of the impropriators; and, as it may be reasonably concluded, in the stalls under review. But, concerning these stalls, it is observable, that the fellows of a college were satisfied with those of a very plain construction, whereas in the neighbouring church of Chatham, a triple seat, embellished with a profu-

[a] Hall's History of Kent, vol. II. p. 545.

[b] Ibid. p. 543.

sion of the finest sculpture, was prepared for the accomodation of the canons of Leedes priory [c].

To men of high rank, and to patrons of livings only, was there an indulgence of fixed seats in a church ; but, in former times, as well as in the present age, parishioners would often dispute about seats, two or more being claimants of the same seat. In order to stop a practice so scandalous, and that frequently occasioned an interruption of divine offices, it was decreed in a synod of the diocese of Exeter, held under its prelate Peter de Quivil, in the year 1284, that, with an exception to noble persons, and to patrons, no one should in future claim any seat, but that whoever first entered a church for the purpose of devotion, he might chuse at his pleasure a place for praying [d]. This constitution is cited with the view of contrasting with it a letter upon the same subject, written in 1625, by Dr. Buckeridge, who then presided over the diocese of Rochester, but was in 1628 removed to Ely. The original letter is kept with the records of the city of Rochester, from which a transcript was made by Mr. Fisher, and on the perusal of it one is somewhat surprized to meet with such restrictions and prohibitions so earnestly pressed by a bishop in the 17th century. The letter was addressed " To
" the right worth my very loving friends the Major of Ro-

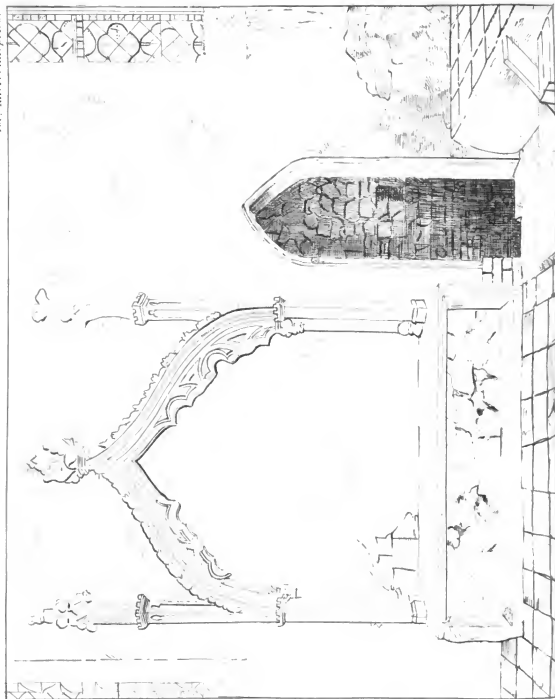
[c] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. III. Pl. IV. and *Archæologia*, vol. X. pp. 301, 310.

[d] Wilkins, *Concil. Magn.* vol. II. p. 140. Item audivimus, quod propter sedilia in ecclesia rixantur multoties parochiani, duobus vel pluribus unum sedile vendicantibus ; propter quod grave scandalum in ecclesia generatur, et divinum sæpius impeditur officium ; statuimus quod nullus de cætero quasi proprium sedile in ecclesia valeat vendicare, nobilibus personis et ecclesiarum patronis dentaxat exceptis ; si qui orandi causa primo ecclesiam introierit juxta propriæ voluntatis arbitrium sibi eligat orandi locum.

" chester,

“ chester, Mr. Dyer, vicar, and the churchwardens of the
 “ p’ish of St. Nicholas in Rochester theis be—

“ After my very hartie commendac’ons I have bin moved
 “ by Sir Robert Crayford, and some others, concerninge seats
 “ in yo’ p’ish church of St. Nicholas, in w^{ch} I coulde have bin
 “ content that yo’ selves, amongst yo’ selves, should have foe
 “ disposed therein, that I should rather have approved yo’
 “ judgment then given any direc’on at all. I know there are
 “ certen knights, and ladies, and others, inhabitinge in other
 “ neighboring parishes, who, out of devotion to the preaching
 “ of the Gospel, resorte to yo’ church, who cannot clayme
 “ any right of seats therein, yet I hold it fitt, that when
 “ they doe come, they should have places answerable to their
 “ rancke and quality. ffor myne owne p’ticular opinion I
 “ doe not thincke it fitt that men and weomen should be
 “ placed in the same seats, neither that weomen should be
 “ allowed to sitt in the chauncell, wh^{ch} was instituted for
 “ clarkes. If you thinke good you may dispose of such knights
 “ in the seats in the quier. And it had bin fitt (for the avoyd-
 “ ing all contenc’on about higher roomes in such publike
 “ assemblies), that you had reserved two of the principall and
 “ highest pewes, on one side of the church, where such la-
 “ dies, and others, that are straungers, might sett, when they
 “ had come to yo’ church, w^{ch} if you have done I must much
 “ approve, and com’end yo’ judgment, if otherwise, it is not
 “ yet to late to make some such disposic’on to the contents
 “ of yo’ owne parishoners, and such straungers, as resorte
 “ unto you, wherein I forbear further to intemeddle,
 “ not doubtinge but that herein you will observe decency,
 “ and order, accordinge to all mens’ states and quality. And
 “ foe



“ foe I comend to the protec’ion of the Almighty, and re-
“ maine,

“ from my lodginge in
“ Durham howse London,
“ this fourth of Aprill,
“ 1625.”

“ Your assured poot ffreind,

“ J. O. ROFFENS.”

I am, Dear Sir,

Wilmington,
27th Oct. 1794.

truly yours,

S. D E N N E.

P. S. Wishing for some farther information respecting the chancel of Upchurch church, I applied to Mr. Fisher, from whom I received the underwritten answer :

“ I cannot find that I have any memorandums of this church ; but I can nevertheless take upon me to say, that there are no arms or cyphers on the screen behind the stalls. Indeed I imagine, that screen to be of subsequent erection. The backs of the stalls are certainly broken off ; but, as I apprehend, from the plainness of their construction, they were never designed to support stone canopies, perhaps they terminated, like the ancient Gothic arm-chairs, thus (B). PLXI.

“ The area opposite the arch seen beyond the stalls is not paved, but is covered with a few loose boards, from which I suspect that the altar did not stand close to the East wall, but on the verge of the present remaining ancient pavement. Mr. Hasted, I find, mentions the monument in the North chancel, of which the accompanying is an unfinished view, and the painted glass there seen is, I apprehend, the glass he alludes to—is I do not recollect any other in the church. It

VOL. XII.

P

displays

displays nothing but Gothic tracery, wherefore I imagine it will not merit your attention. The door which appears on one side of the monument leads by a winding stair-case to a Gothic vault under this chantry chancel, full of bones, which I believe to be coëval with the chancel itself, and may, perhaps, have some relation to the monument. This church has three different chancels; that on the North side contains the monument and stained glafs. The middle or great chancel, the stalls, and three steps leading up to the altar, besides which there is a South chancel very spacious, with the stone, anciently the altar, lying in the pavement, as also a few words of an old inscription in French, and a singularly small monumental arch in the North wall. Mr. Hafted, I imagine, noticed the great chancel and nave under the descriptions of one aisle, and specifically mentions the two other chancels, because it is probable they are additions to the church of a later date."

XIII. *Account of Sepulchral Monuments discovered at Lincoln. By the Reverend John Carter, F. A. S. In a Letter to John Pownall, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read May 25, 1795.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I send you, for the information of the Society of Antiquaries, a letter I have received from the Reverend Mr. John Carter of Lincoln, accompanied with very neat and accurate drawings of some curious and sepulchral antiquities lately discovered in the same field to the East of that town, in which former discoveries had been made of the like ancient sepulchrs, an account of which I communicated to the Society in 1791. See *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 345.

It was my wish to have presented these papers in person, but my severe and painful indisposition deprives me of that advantage*.

If this communication should be thought worthy of publication in the next volume of the *Archæologia*, it may remain with the Society; if not, I am to request it may be returned to,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

To the Rev. Mr. Wrighte.

JOHN POWNALL.

* Mr. Pownall died July 17, 1795.

Lincoln, April 13, 1795.

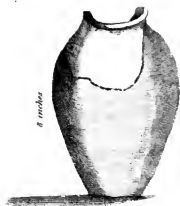
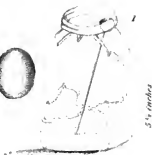
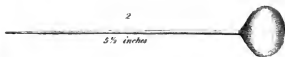
DEAR SIR,

I Have taken the liberty of transmitting to you drawings of some farther discoveries of Roman interments at Lincoln, since those which you communicated to the Society, and of which they published an account [*a*]. In the latter end of February last, as the workmen were employed in removing the earth, towards the East side, contiguous to the same quarry, in order to get at the stone below, they met with the remains of Roman sepulture exhibited in the inclosed sketches. I was not present at the time of the discovery, but went to the place a day or two after, as soon as I heard of it; and from the account of the workmen, and the relation given me by the quarry-man who was engaged in the work himself, and seems to have been very attentive in marking the particulars, I have drawn up the following, which I have reason to believe a pretty accurate statement of the manner and position in which these remains were discovered.

About five feet and a half from the surface, placed East and West, was found the complete skeleton of a man; the bones were very large and well preserved: the skull was perfect, and every tooth remained firm in the head. At his right arm was placed fig. 4. Plate XIII. full of earth and bones; at his left was fig. 1. a jar, of very fine glass, on which there appeared a coat of silvering. It was full of earth, and had fig. 2. a *stylus* stuck into it. The inverted end of this is broad and

[*a*] *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 345.

rather



3



9 inches



8

3



2 1/2 inches

7



Urns found at Lincoln?

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rather concave, and probably may have been used occasionally as a spoon. It is of mixed metal, but not at all corroded, and when found was as bright as it had been on the day when it was put into the ground. The soil is of a dry sandy nature, which is the reason, no doubt, why this and the human bones have been so surprizingly preserved through so many centuries. Figures 3. 3. appear to me to be two specimens of the *simpulum*, the one of black ware and indented, the other plain and red. The latter was found at his head, the other at his feet. There were more of these which had been placed round the body, but the rest were all broken. From these remains, discovered with the body, I should suppose the deceased to have been of consequence: and, if one may judge from the glass jar, probably used in libations, and the other sacrificial utensils, I should conjecture he was one of the sacerdotal rank.

At the foot of this were found two skeletons, placed North and South, one above the other, the lowest about three feet, and the other about one foot and a half from the surface.

Fig. 7. Plate XIV. was dug up at the same time, at the distance of between three and four feet to the right from the remains first described. It exhibits a mode of sepulture of which I do not ever remember to have seen any account. It is a hollow globe of coarse earthen ware of eighteen inches diameter, with an aperture of nine inches, just large enough to admit fig. 8, which was placed within it in the manner represented in fig. 7. The workmen came to the upper part of this globe at about a foot from the surface, and, though it did appear cracked, were desirous of taking it up as perfect and entire as they could. But when lifting it out of the ground
it

it split from them some how or other, and rolled down the declivity, and had nearly overfet one of the men in its paffage. It was unfortunately broken all to pieces at the bottom [b]. But the parts were carefully preferved, and I had them joined together, in order to get the drawing taken; and I dare fay you will think with me, that it forms a very curious receptacle for the afhes of the dead. It is a fpecies of *conditorium*, of which I do not remember to have read any defcription in any ancient or modern author. The *ſcſtiles ſarcophagi*, enumerated by Mr. Gough [c], perhaps come the neareſt to it; but they, if you except the *obrendaria* or *obruendaria*, were all ufed for the reception of the body entire. Pliny, in treating on the art of pottery and working in clay, has obſerved, that “many of the dead choſe to be interred in earthen *ſolia*, and that Marcus Varro was buried ſo among leaves of myrtle, olive, and black poplar, after the Pythagorean cuſtom [d].” It is not eaſy to determine precisely what was the form of thoſe; but from the uſual ſenſe of a tub, vat, or veſſel, affixed to *ſolium*, we may conceive they were coffins of the cylindrical, or tun-faſhion, generally uſed for interment [e]; I ſay generally, becauſe the ſpecimen before us is a proof of

[b] Indeed both this and the urns were very tender, when dug up and expoſed to the air, as it was juſt upon the breaking up of the froſt.

[c] Sep. Mon. I. Introd. xxv. xxvi.

[d] Nat. Hiſt. XXXV. 12. cited *ibidem*.

[e] Q. Curtius, ſpeaking of the ſepulchre of Cyrus, ſays “*ſolium*, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit,” l.b. X. cap. I. 32. “Ubi Pitifcus in loc. annotat. *ſolium* propriè eſt alveus, in quem lavaturi descendeabant.” Græci *αὐτάρ* vocant.” The word *ſolium*, as applied to veſſels, ſeems to be derived from being q. *ſolium*, de uno ligno factum, ſcooped out of one piece of wood. Hence another reſemblance to the *ſolia ſcſtilia* mentioned by Pliny, which were moſt probably ſometimes all of one piece, as was this earthen globe.

the

the same sort of sarcophagus, with a little variation in the shape, being sometimes applied to the reception of the *ashes* of the dead, and that there were other species of the *folia fictilia* adapted also to urn-burial.

Mr. Fardell remembers, that about thirty-five years ago, a small sort of *Kistvaen*, or box formed of four stones with a cover of the same, in which was enclosed an urn, was found in the same quarry, more to the West. It was preserved a considerable time by Mr. Wood, who then occupied the quarry, and kept it for the inspection of the curious. This, the excavated stone in the possession of Dr. Gordon, and the earthen globe just described, afford three such singular specimens of urn-burial, as I think I may pretty confidently assert have not been discovered in any other Roman cemetery. They were all undoubtedly used for persons of distinction; and the intent of the enclosure seems to have been to prevent their ashes mixing with the common earth.

Two or three days after these discoveries were made, the workmen found another skeleton, placed East and West, at the depth of five feet and a half, which, from the smallness of the bones, was supposed to be that of a female. On one side of the head, towards the breast, was placed fig. 5. This jug has a hole in it at the bottom. Nothing was found in it, but it had been enclosed in an urn, which was broken to pieces.

Fig. 6 was placed over the head, but nearer the surface, and filled with earth, ashes, nails, and bones. Fig 9 was at the feet; it is of a coarser and darker sort of glass than fig. 1. and holds four quarts. No coins were found, or any other memorial, which might lead to a conjecture towards ascertaining the date of their interments. There were pieces of black and yellow pitch in a broken urn near the top

of the larger bottle, and many more scattered up and down the ground.

Dr. Gordon was inclined to conjecture, that the room, discovered 100 yards to the West [f], was the common *ustrina* to the cemetery. Against that supposition, I think it evident, that these bodies were burned on the spot from the quantity of pitch found here, which, with paper and other combustible materials, was usually stuffed into the funeral piles, to make it the more easily catch fire, and to assist the flames in more rapidly consuming the body. I picked up pieces of lead also, which were probably melted off some of the funeral *dona*, such as cloaths, ornaments, arms, &c. generally thrown into the pile during the conflagration.

I have thought it remarkable, that the Romans, who confessedly borrowed their ceremonies at funerals, both with regard to cremation and interment, from the Greeks, should not also have adopted their method of placing the body in the ground. Their fashion was East and West [g], that of the Romans North and South. One of the workmen, who has been employed in these quarries for a number of years, and has during that time dug up a very great number of skeletons, told me, that except in a very few instances (of which there are two in the present memoir), he has always found them placed in a direction North and South. When different positions have occurred, they have been usually referred to times posterior to the introduction of Christianity, which in general may be true. But I cannot help thinking,

[f] *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 348.

[g] The Megarcians turned the body to the East, and the Athenians to the West. Plutarch, in Solon. Kennet's *Antiq. of Rome*, book V. p. 10.

that some of these may be ascribed to a much earlier period, where the party have desired to be interred *more Græco*. This however is only the rude conjecture of one not much versed in this sort of researches, and therefore I am certain will meet with the more indulgence from you. I thought, however, that these sketches would form a sort of supplement to the discoveries in the same place in 1791; and that though you might not think them of sufficient consequence to shew the Society, they might afford some amusement to yourself.

I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Yours, sincerely,

JOHN CARTER.

John Pownall, Esq.

XIV. *Observations on Paper-Marks. By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. A. S. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.*

Read May 21, and June 4, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

NOT long since, when Mr. Thomas Fisher had an opportunity of examining sundry letters and other papers deposited in a room over the Town Hall in Rochester, he was induced to sketch the paper, or water-marks, as they are sometimes called. His fac similes of this kind are sixty-four [a]; of which two are from writings dated in 1473, seven from those of the sixteenth century, and the residue from those of the seventeenth, with an exception of one of the year 1712. There is not one that has a *star of eight points within a double circle*, the device of John Tate, supposed to have been the first Paper-maker in England, and who is recorded to have had, if I mistake not in the reign of Henry VII, a mill at Hertford [b]. Nor is there more than one device (*viz. a hand open surmounted by a star* [c]) that is to be found in the collection engraved for the second volume of *Original Letters* published by Sir John Fenn [d]. This circumstance

[a] See Plates XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII.

[b] *Original Letters*, by John Fenn, esq. &c. Preface, page xx. note; and *British Topography*, vol. I. p. 482.

[c] Plate XV. N^o 3 and 4.

[d] Vol. II. Pl. XIII. p. 41.

may



1173

Supra in visu franciplyr vnt in ara
gungghin gaire pyp die Octob Anno p
Duodecimo.

Anno p 8 iii Duodecimo.



abon
1512

3. Hen. 8.
1512



12345 Taken from the Cash Book.

may be, however, attributed to these original letters having been written on paper made abroad.

Mr. Fisher has specified the qualities of the papers, and he has also noticed with exactness their sizes; concerning which there is, in general, but a trifling difference in their dimensions from those of the Paston papers.

A sheet for the year 1649 has for a device a large hat [*d*]; and if an allusion to the fashion of the times was intended, it would denote the broad-brim beaver worn by the puritans and republicans of that age. Four crosses are exhibited in a sheet of the year 1651 [*e*]; and on a sheet of the year 1657 a regal crown is displayed [*f*]. As these symbols were equally obnoxious to the then ruling powers, one can no otherwise account for the appearance and sufferance of them than on the supposition of the papers having been fabricated out of the kingdom. A fleur de lis under the crown strongly implies that this paper might be imported from France.

NESSON [*g*], a mark of 1584, was doubtless the name of the maker, but I am not aware what persons were meant by COMPANY [*h*] in 1698. Many of the sheets have letters on them, probably initials of the names of the makers, which those who are acquainted with the history of this manufacture may be able to appropriate.

Plate XV.

No. 1. Stout even paper, very hard and strong, and brown, but most probably with age; taken from the leaves of an old

[*d*] Plate XVII. N° 31.

[*e*] Ibid. N° 33.

[*f*] Ibid. N° 34.

[*g*] Plate XV. N° 7.

[*h*] Plate XVIII. N° 46.

Q 2

da

damaged book, indorsed *Cash Book*, written in Latin, from which the two lines are engraved.

- 2, 3. Very stout, rough, rather brown.
 4. Even and rather thin, but very yellow.
 5. Even, white, strong, rather thick.
- These five from the above book.

INDEX to PAPER MARKS, ranged according to Dates.

Plate XV.

- No. 1, 1473. Stout even paper, very hard and strong, rather yellow with age.
- 2, about 1473. Very stout rough paper, rather brown.
 3. about 1512. Ditto. ditto.
 4. about 1512. Even, strong, white paper, rather thin.
 - 5, 1530. Even and rather thin, but yellow.
 6. ^{1558.}_{1603.} Thin, rough, pretty white.
 7. 1584. Even, rather thin, and yellow with age.
 8. 1591. Brief paper, even and thin, but yellow with age.
 - 9, 1591. Ditto. ditto.
 - 10, 1601. A strong white paper, rather thin.
 - 11, 1608-9. Very stout rough, rather brown.
 - 12, 1609. Very thin, white, and tolerably even.
 - 13, 1611. Thin, fine paper.

XVI.

- 14, 1618. Stout, even, rather brown.
- 15, 1623. even, fine.
- 16, 1625. Brief paper, very stout and fine, rather dark.
- 17, 1625. Brief paper, coarse, thin, very brown.
- 18, 1625. Tolerably stout, yellow with age.



1625



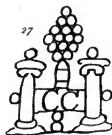
26



1630



27



1634



15

1625



16

1625



25



1625

28



1636

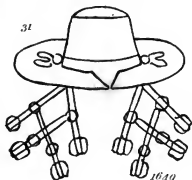




1637



1649



1649



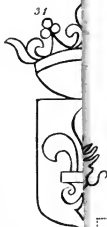
1630



1662



1679



1679

POTT Paper Marks.

Plate XIX.

- 1, 1604.
- 2, 1607.
- 3, 1609.
- 4, 1611.
- 5, 1611.
- 6, 1612.
- 7, 1618.
- 8, 1618.
- 9, 1621.
- 10, 1622.
- 11, 1623.
- 12, 1623.
- 13, 1624.
- 1624.
- 14, 1635.
- 15, 1643.
- 16, 1663.
- 17, 1663.

Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, are tolerably stout papers; 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, are also even; 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, are thin and somewhat fine, particularly 8, 12, 15, which are very thin. They are all yellow, but chiefly with age.

REMARKS.

It is probable the post horn [*a*] was the mark of a paper now called *Poff* paper, one description of which preserves it at the present day, together with its texture and size little altered. The fleur de lis [*b*], of the Demy, which also retains

[*a*] Plate XVII. N^o 39, 40.

[*b*] Plate XVII. N^o 34. Plate XVIII. N^o 45.



its primitive device, and nearly its proportions. The hand also [c], I suppose, gave name to paper now called *Hand paper*, but which has materially altered in size and texture. There is little doubt that the *Fools cap* [d] gave name to the paper now distinguished by that singular epithet, although it has resigned its mark, and adopted various others, as Britannia and the Cap of Liberty on a pole, the latter, I apprehend, peculiar to that manufactured in Holland. The flagons, or pots [e], of which seventeen specimens are collected of different makers, characterise paper now denominated *Pot paper*, which also retains its proportions and size, but has exchanged its mark for that of the arms of England.

Having been favoured by Craven Ord, esq. with the sight of impressions of eight or nine wooden cuts of paper marks (not all regularly numbered), two of them on black grounds; and probably belonging to some former work on printing; one consisting wholly of ox heads and stars, another of hands and stars, and a third of flaggons; I have compared them with the plates at the end of the second volume of the *Paston Letters*, and with the engravings from the delineations of Mr. Fisher; and these circumstances have occurred to me.

The ox head, sometimes surmounted by a star, is on the paper on which Fust printed some of his ancient books, was a favourite paper mark, and perhaps as ancient as any of the *Caput Bovis*, an embellishment much in request. Mrs. Piozzi, in *Observations on a Journey through France*, &c. at p. 198, thus expresses her sentiments: "The tomb of Cecilia Metella, wife of the rich and famous Crassus, is beautiful, and still called *Capo de Bove* by the Italians, on account of its being ornamented with the *ox head and flowers*, which

[c] Plate XV. N° 3, 4, and 13. Plate XVII. N° 32.

[d] Plate XVI. N° 36.

[e] Plate XIX.

now flourish over every door in the new-built streets of London;" but the original of it she relates from Livy, and concludes, that from that time the ornament called *Caput Bovis* was in a manner consecrated to Diana, and her particular votaries used it on their tombs.

The open hand was likewise a very ancient paper mark, and much more frequently and for a longer time used than the ox head, which will account for a sort of paper having, as observed by Mr. Fisher, acquired that denomination.

Of the Paston Letters there are only two on which the paper-mark is what Sir John Fenn terms a flaggon or chalice [f], the latter is however an improper word. In Mr. Ord's plate there are fifteen flaggons, but No. 4 and 6 are of the same pattern; and in Mr. Fisher's collection are seventeen of what he calls *flower pots*, though they have more the appearance of drinking vessels. The flaggon in the Paston plate is almost plain, and not surmounted by a crescent, a star, or any other figure, as most of the flaggons in the other collections are, and many of them are not a little embellished; but it is observable, that there is not an exact resemblance between any two numbers in these two plates. The flaggon, or rather pot, seems therefore to have been intended to denote the paper of a particular quality or size, and the manufacturer thought it advisable to add his own private mark.

Mr. Ord's plates have several marks totally different from any noticed by either Sir John Fenn or Mr. Fisher, and they are judiciously arranged; but, unluckily, as the *date* of each mark is omitted, it is impossible to fix with precision the age of the respective papers; but the marks are accompanied with initials and merchants marks, and something like signs.

[f] There is a chalice in Mr. Ord's Plate IV.

Not

Not one horn is to be seen in the Paston Letters. In Mr. Ord's plates there are seven with this symbol, and in Mr. Fisher's two, one of the year 1670, the other of 1679. Supposing those in Mr. Ord's collection to have been nearly coeval with Mr. Fisher's, as this is the device of what is called Post paper, it should seem that it was not so denominated till after the establishment of The General Post, when it was the general practice of the boy who conveyed the mail to blow his horn.

The Fool's cap is not in either the Paston Letters or Mr. Ord's Plates. The date of that device in Mr. Fisher's is as late as 1661. In not one of the collection is the Cap of Liberty discernible, though now, as Mr. Fisher has observed, the Fool's cap paper has for its mark Britannia, or the Rampant Lion supporting the Cap of Liberty on a pole; but query his authority for apprehending that the latter is peculiar to that manufactured in Holland.

The marks on the paper used by Caxton and other early printers, engraved by Mr. Ames in his *Typographical Antiquities*, are the ox head and star, the p, the sheers, the hand and star, a collared dog's head reversed with a trefoil over him, the holy lamb, a ring surmounted by a star, a ship, a crown, and a shield with something like a bend.

"*Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum*" was the first book printed on paper manufactured in England, and came out, without date, about the year 1495, or 6. The maker of this paper was John Tate, junior, as I suppose, by the Prohemium at the end of the said book [g]. The mark of the said paper is a wheel; the paper itself is extraordinary fine and good [b].

[g] " And John Tate the yonger, joye mote hem broke,
Which late hathe in England doo make this paper thynne,
That now in our English this boke is prynced inne."

[b] Herbert, p. 4. note k.

Mr. Fisher copied several of the papers, particularly six letters which had a reference to the proposed arrivals of King Charles the First at Rochester, at the time of his marrying the Princess Henrietta of France. It appears from the first of these letters, that the King had intended sleeping at Rochester as he went to and as he returned from Dover, and it contained an order to the mayor to secure all the lodgings for the accommodation of the retinues of their Majesties. This letter, or warrant, was signed by nine privy counsellors, whose autographs Mr. Fisher delineated *. There are three letters from Dr. Balcanquall, dean of Rochester, upon the same occasion. In the first of them he expresses an apprehension, lest, in consequence of the King's having delayed his journey, he may have incurred a needless expence for the provisions he had directed to be sent from Boxley to the deanery: and in the second he apprizes the mayor, that when he with his select band waited on their Majesties, it would be expected that presents should be offered to both the King and the Queen; and a caution explicit is given, that the speech to the King should be very concise. A fac simile is taken of the Dean's seal as well as his autograph †. The seal has impressed on it an anvil, and a hand with a hammer uplifted. The motto is *Ferenda Feriōr*. Whether this were the armorial bearing or the crest of Dr. Balcanquall's family, the little knowledge I have in heraldry will not warrant me to determine; but the motto is not unapt for a polemick, and as the Dean was sent to the synod of Dort as a representative of the Church of Scotland, it may be presumed that he was a zealous controversialist.

There are besides two letters from Lord Conway, a principal secretary of state. One of them is an order for a strict

* Plate XX. 1.

† Ib. 4. 5.

N^o 1.

G. Cant: Jo: med. c. JONES Key *Wm. M. M.*
Edison W. S.
 Grandson
 J. E. Cronin
 H. Merton
 Hum. J. Day

2 *Pa. Cronin* 3 *Sho. W. Cronin*

4 Walter B. Cronin:



6 your affectionate friend
 to serve you
E. Cronin

C. Autographs.

prosecution of some men taken up on suspicion of robbing a courier from the French ambassador; and, in the other letter the secretary enjoins a suspension of the trial of a servant of count Enno, of East Friesland, who had been imprisoned for killing a man. The secretary signs himself E. Conway, and not Conway, the mode of spelling generally used by the family. From the autograph, which comprizes the six concluding words of the second letter, it should seem that the farcastic stricture of King James, of his having a secretary that could not write, was not wholly unmerited. This is advanced on the authority of Lord Clarendon, in whose History of the Rebellion*, vol. I. p. 64, is this passage: "Sir Dudley Carleton was put into the place of Lord Conway, who for age and incapacity was at last removed from the secretary's office, which he had exercised many years with very notable insufficiency; so that King James was wont pleasantly to say, that 'Stenny (the Duke of Buckingham) had given him two very proper servants; a secretary who could neither write nor read, and a groom of his bedchamber, who could not trust his points;' Mr. Clarke having but one hand."

Imagining that none of these letters are in print, I have, with Mr. Fisher's consent, transmitted copies of them, together with the autographs and his delineations of the paper-marks. And should you concur in opinion with me, that the reading of the epistles, and an inspection of the signs manual and devices, are likely to afford amusement for an evening to the Society, no apology can be wanting for my taking the freedom of desiring you to convey them to the Secretary Mr. Wrighte.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obliged Servant,

SAMUEL DENNE.

Wilmington,
14th Nov. 1794.

* Edit. Oxford, 1707, 8vo.

*Copies of Letters referred to in Mr. DENNE's Letter to
Mr. GOUGH.*

No. I.

AFTER o^r hartie comendac'ons. Whereas his Ma^{tie} intendeth to make repaire to his castle of Dover upon the 16th of this p^resent moneth, attended thither wth a greate traine both for quallitie and nomber, being the place appoynted by his highnes for the landing and first recepc'on of Madame Henriette, daughter of ffrance, now his Ma^{tie} Royall Conforte, who, as we understand, comes over lykewise, attended wth a full traine, his Ma^{tie} intending lykewyse in his way to Dover to lye at Rochester the 13th of this p^resent month, we taking into considera^{ti}on, that the concourse and resorte of people thither (usuall upon lyke occas'ons) cannot but fall out to incomodateing and disfurnishing, both for lodging and otherwise, of the traine and retinue aforefaid, unto both their Ma^{ties}, unless some fitt and tymely caution be had therein, have therefore thought good hereby to authorize and require you to give peremptorie and expresse order, that from the foresaid 13th of this p^resent, durence his Ma^{tie} aboade at Rochester (as well in his iorney to Dover, as in his retourne back againe), noe p^rsons whatsoever, not being inhabitants of yo^r towne, shal be suffered to take up any lodgings. wthin the same, unless onely for the King and Queen's traine and retinue, and untill they be first sufficiently pr^ovided for and accommodated by the R^l Harbinger and the rest unto whom that service app^rtains. Hereof you are not to fayle upon paine of his Ma^{tie} high:

high displeasure, and as you will answer the contrarie at yor
p'lls. And soe we bid you hartely farewell: from Whytehall
the 6th of May, 1625.

Yor loving ffrends,

G. cant. Jū : Lincoln.	James ley	W. Mandeville.
Grandifone.	Ed. Conway	
T. Edmondes	Alb. Morton	
	Hum. Play.	

May^r and Magistrates
of Rochester.

No. II.

Right Woth

THE K^r Ma^r havinge this daie altered his tyme of cominge
into Kent, maketh me (in respect of my attendance) desyre
y^r troble in countermaunding such sumons as by form^r war-
rant you have geven for y^r neighbors meetinge before me, as
deputy clarke of the m^rkeit for the berge, I now not being
able to attend that service but accordinge to the dayes sett
downe in this p^rcept; wh^{ch} I pray may be executed accord-
ingly, and the former p^rcept sent you for the purpos may doe
no execuc'on: so I shall thanke you for this courtesy, and be
tractable to y^r will in things fitting and refonable, and still
remayne

at y^r Wth depofall,

xiii May, 1625.

CH A ; W A L K E R Y *.

The King will be at Rochester on Friday the xxth of May,
and not before, for soe is warninge this day geven at Whitehall.

To the right worth the mayor and other
principall officeⁿ of the cittie of Rochester.

* See his Autograph, Plate XX. 2.

No. III.

No. III.

S I R,

I am forrie that I am so unfortunate in my provisions, and I am either so mistaken, or my letters so slow; for sure I gave no other direction but that they should be in readines against the tyme I sent for them, I pray yow let no tyme be made account of for the king's comming till I send you woord; it is now delayed till the next Thuirfday. and for any thing I can learne is lyke to be put of longer; for fear of further mistaking, command John Hall presently to send a messenger to Mrs. Wyat at Boxley, with a note signifying the delay of the King's comming, and that, therefore, no provisions be sent to Rochester till they hear from me, for unles a messenger be presently dispatched, they will perhaps be sent on Monday morning: Thus, with the remembrance of my best love and my wyfs, I rest,

Savoy, this 20 of
May, 1625.

Your verie loving freind,
WALTER BALCANQUALL.

(Received the 21 of *May* att
8 of the clock att night.)

For my worthy and much respected freind,
Mr. Dyer, preacher at Rochester.
haft! haft!

No. IV.

No. IV.

Worthy Mr. Maior,

ACCORDING to my promis I do write unto you, and fend you all the news that we have at this time; the King is gone this day to Dover, and it is feared he will go to Bulleine, but I hope he will not. The Queen is not expected to land till Munday next; but then the King will make all possible haste he can towards London, tarienge but on night at Canterbury, and another at your town. I will go to-morrow to Dover, wheare I will remember you to your noble frende Sir John Hipesley, and will, as occasion serveth, still advertise you especially any thinge that may concerne you or the city. I pray let this letter enclosed be sent away for Darford for my father with all speed, for it concerns the King's speciall servis. And so, with my kind love remembered to you and all our frendes, I rest

Canterbery, this Thurseday
night late, being the second
of June, 1625.

Your assured frende
to do you servis,
Signed THO. WALSINGHAM*.

For his Maj^{ty} special servis—To the Right
Worshipfull my very loving frende the Maior
of Rocheſter, theiſe—Haſt, haſt, poſt haſt,
THO. WALSINGHAM.

* See his Autograph, Plate XX. 3.

No. V.

No. V.

My Woorthy Freinds,

IMMEDIATELY upon the receipt of your letters I addressed my selfe to my L. Chamberlain, whom I found with the King. I made his L. acquainted with your letters; the King believeth your cittie to be free of the plague, having testimonie thereof under your hands. For his intertainment by you, his Ma^{tie} expecteth the same intertainment from you which he had from Canterbury, and meaneth to give you the lyke. Out of his coach his Ma^{tie} will not sturre, but looketh to be receaved by you with your select band; a speech (which yow must take order to be verie shiort), and for a present to himselfe and the Queen. I knowe it is expected; but I have no direction to say any thing of it. This night, by God his grace, the Queen landeth; for yesterday by two of the clocke she was certainly at Bulloigne. Wee shall all be with you on Monday, or on Tuesday, as I rather think, at farthest; but whether of the two, I shall not fail before that tyme to advertise. In what I am nowe or ever shall be able to doe you service, I hope you will doe me so much right as to part your selfe of the willing industrie of

Canterbury, this 9 of
June, 1625.

Your faithful frenid and Servant,
WALTER BALCANQUAL

For the Right Worth my woorty freinds,
Mr. Mayor, and the Aldermen of the
citie of Rochester.

these.

No. VI.

No. VI.

SIR,

THEIR are newes just nowe come to the King that the Queen is within sight of Dover, and readie to land; on Tuesday or Weddingsday at farthest they will both come through your cittie. I make no question you will doe your best for their intertainment. God keep you according to the wishes of Canterbury the 12. Your most respectful freind,
of June, 1625. (Signed) WALTER BALCANQUALL*.

No. VII.

May it please yo^r

I have received informac'on, that some of those men w^h robbed the currier sent from the ffrench ambassador are now taken. I must lett yo^r know, that that action brought a verie great inconvenience to his Ma^{ties} busineses then in hand, and that yo^r may iudge how fowle those acts are, even that breake the ordinary trafficke and com'erce of the highwaies, and much more when they reach to persons that are comprised w^hin the publicke faith, as the messengers of Kings are, even amongst the camps and gards of souldiers, ennemies to the Kings of those messengers. There is information given, that there was a spectacle found, w^h was a part of those things taken from the ffrench post. His Maj^{ties} pleasure is, that you make a carefull and straight examinac'on of the parties, and

* See Plate XX. 4.

all circumstances, and that you send those examinac'ons unto mee, one of his Ma^y principal secretaries of state. And that yo^a doe at the com'ing of the judges to inquire of the ffacts of life and death, and before these p'ties shall be called to answer, inform the Judges of his Ma^y pleasure, by shewing them this l'tre; for his Ma^{ties} pleasure is to require a strict account in this cause, the fact com'itted not onely upon a stranger, but upon a persvn in publicke employment, and in a more extraordinary manner in his Ma^{ties} protection than other men. I shall not doubt of yo' care, and yo' faithfulness; and I shall be readie to improve yo' affections to justice, and obedience to his Ma^{ties} directions to yo' most advantage. And wth the offer of my service, I remaine

London, March

Yo^r assured loving friend,

9th, 1624.

EDW. CONWEY.

(To the Mayor and Justices of Rochester.)

No. VIII.

S^r

I do much wonder at what is told mee by this messenger coming yesterday from Rochester, that yo^a had then received no l'res from mee concerning the sonne of one Frederickken Heren, a prisonner there for killinge a man, concerning whom I signified unto yo^a some dayes since his Ma^y pleasure, that yo^a should certifie the manner of that fact, and the proceedings that have been thereupon. And in the meane time to cause him to bee kept in the same manner as nowe hee is, wthout anie proceedings against him untill his Ma^{ties} pleasure be knowne. I am further nowe to give yo^a knowledge, that

his Ma^{ty}, at the instance of his good cousen count ENNO, of East Frizeland (whose servaunt the prisoner is), hath a great inclinac'on to shewe him favour and grace as by lawe may be affoorded. And accordingly yo^u are to be carefull that there bee noe proceedinge or tryall against him upon anie p'text whatsoever, untill yo^u have made retorne of yo^r certificate, and receaved his Ma^{ty} pleasure thereupon. Whereof yo^u may in noe wise fayle. And soe I remayne,

Court at Aldershott	Your affectionate frend
July 25. 1625.	to serve you,
	E. CONWEY*.

Yo^u must shew this l're to the Judges, or
anie other whom it may concerne to stay
all proceedings E. CONWEY.
The messenger had other occasions, and soe I have
addressed it to yo^u by post
To the Mayor of Rochester on his Maj^{ty}'s service.

* See Plate XX. 6.

XIV. *An Essay towards a History of the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle; with Remarks on the Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans.* By William Wilkins, of Norwich,

Read June 11, 18, 25, 1795.

HISTORIANS assert, that the *Belgæ* [*a*], or *Attrebatii*, a people of Gaul, were the first emigrants who settled in the Southern parts of this island long before the Roman eagle was advanced hither. Little can be learned relating to them or the ancient Britons before Cæsar's invasion, which was fifty three or fifty four years before Christ. About that time, we learn, that the kingdom of the Iceni, whose inhabitants were called *Cenimagni*, comprehended the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, and that they, with other kingdoms in this island, submitted by their ambassadors to Cæsar; and that afterwards, in order to keep the people in subjection, the proprætor Ostorius Scapula, who was sent hither about the year of Christ 47 [*b*], established garisons, and disarmed the suspected people in various parts of the island [*c*]. Perhaps the best idea that can be formed of Britain is given us in Virgil's first pastoral :

“ Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos [*d*].”

[*a*] Gibbon's *Camden*, p. 58.

[*b*] Brady's *History of England*, p. 14.

[*c*] *Camden*, p. xlvi.

[*d*] Divided from the world the British race.

The

The Iceni, who are represented as a stout and courageous people, were the first who revolted from the Roman government; but having no armour to defend themselves, or any knowledge in the art of war, they were soon after defeated in a bloody battle. Under the reign of Nero, when the prætor Suetonius Paulinus, who succeeded Veranius in the government of Britain, Anno 58 or 60, was engaged in the island of Mona (now Anglesea), the Iceni, whose queen Boadicia and her daughters had been treated by the Roman tribunes in the most ignominious manner, in concert with the Trinobantes [*e*] and other nations, again revolted [*f*] with a determination, if possible, to free themselves from the Roman yoke, and at Malden, Verulam [*g*], and other places, which they passed through, they severely retaliated their wrongs on the Romans and their allies in this war; to the number of seventy thousand being put to the sword without distinction. Boadicia's army, however, consisting of between two and three hundred thousand, were soon after defeated by Suetonius, who had with him the fourteenth legion, some companies of the twentieth, and the nearest auxiliaries, together amounting to about ten thousand men well armed, who slew about eighty thousand of the Britons, and Boadicia, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, is said by Tacitus, to have poisoned herself [*h*]. Cerealis was afterwards sent by Vespasian, and after him by Julius Frontinus, who was equally successful in authority and reputation; but Julius Agricola, who governed in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus,

[*e*] Inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex.

[*f*] A. D. 62.

[*g*] A Roman town near St. Alban's in Hertfordshire.

[*h*] Dio Cassius affirms she died of sickness.

and

and Domitian, distinguished himself most in rendering Britain useful to his country, by civilizing its inhabitants, and gradually incorporating them as a part of the Roman empire [i].

To guard the shore, which was frequently invaded by the Saxons, and to keep in subjection the inhabitants, who were often revolting, the Romans thought it necessary to appoint a number of military establishments in this neighbourhood, namely, Gariononum [k], Sitomagus [l], Branudonum [m],

[i] Hume's History of England.

[k] Purgh Castle near Yarmouth, where was stationed the captain of the Stablian Horse, who was styled *Garienenensis*, under the command of the count of the Saxon shore, called *Comes Tractus Maritimi*, through Britain, who had under him nine maritime towns placed on the South and East coast of the island, and the soldiers in garrison were about 2,200 foot, and 200 horse *. There are few remains of Roman buildings in Britain in so good preservation as Gariononum; most of the walls are now standing, and it is altogether a very fine specimen of their favourite military architecture; its form is a parallelogram of 214 yards in length, and 107 yards in breadth, containing 4 acres 2 roods.

[l] Thetford, famed for being the seat of the kings of the East Angles.

[m] Brancaster near Burnham, another maritime station; here was stationed the Captain of the Dalmatian horse. Camden says, "it contained some 8 acres." Gibson, his annotator, "there are plain remains of a Roman camp," answering the figure of that described by Cæsar (*Comment. de Bell. Gall. l. 2.*). "Castra in altitudinem pedum 12 vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire jubet," all the dimensions of it shew it was not made in a hurry, but was regular and designed on purpose for a station upon that Northern shore against the "incurfions of the Saxons." When I was there in 1788 the walls were all erased, but on the summit of the fosse are strewed numberless pieces of Roman tiles and urns. W. W.

* These numbers from the Notitia, written in the reign of Theodosius the younger, A. D. 410, allow only 267 to each station, which could not, by any means, be sufficient to defend them; probably the British allies, of which great part of the army was composed, are not included.

VENTA ICENORUM [n]: and ad Tuam [o], besides other subordinate Stativa Hiberna, and Castra Æstiva; Castor by Yarmouth, Castleacre castle, Elmham and Buxton in Norfolk were probably of these descriptions, where numbers of coins and Roman burial-urns have at various times been discovered.

We have Camden's authority for calling VENTA ICENORUM the most flourishing city of the kingdom of the Iceni; yet it is pretty certain, that Sitomagus subsequently became, from its central situation, the capital of the kings of the East Angles.

The Roman *stativa* here, in the midst of small swelling hills, is close to the banks of the Tese [p], which, though now a small river, there is every reason to suppose to have been in those early times of much greater consequence, and most probably navigable for Roman shipping,

[n] Castor, by Norwich, the flourishing city of the Iceni. Camden, p. 385.

[o] Taseburgh, 7 or 8 miles South from Norwich, and 5 from Castor; where is still a square entrenchment containing 24 acres. The name of the town shews its original to have been the *Burgh* or Fortification on the River *Taus* or *Tese*, and accordingly Dr. Gale, in his Commentary on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 109, tells us this river was called *Tesi*, and that the station *ad Tuam*, mentioned in the Peutingerian Tables, was here; and indeed the parish church stands in the fortification, the dimensions of which are still visible, and an advantageous situation it was to guard the pass of the river leading to *Cyffre*, being on the summit of a very high hill, commanding the adjacent country, and hanging over the river, which turns Eastward, and makes a commodious sinus or bay for such vessels as come up hither. Blomfield, vol. III. p. 138.

[p] The river Tese joins the Wensum at Trowse*, about 3 miles to the North-east, where, conjoined with another small stream, it takes the name of YARE†.

* Trois oufe.

† Gariena.

as history informs us of a large extent of flat country in the Eastern and North-eastern parts of Norfolk, and the adjacent parts of Suffolk, which was entirely overflowed; but from the difference of the rise of the tides upon this coast, or the embankments to the North [9], which have since taken place, or probably from both, a very considerable quantity of rich fertile country of many thousand acres area, and even the ground upon which the town of Yarmouth now stands, as well as other towns of less consequence, was the bed of the *Æstuary* of the Yare prior to the year 1040.

The North, East, and South sides of the station have banks raised from a vallum of considerable depth, and the West side has a bank raised from the river. On these were built the walls, some remains of which are still visible, particularly on the North side.

The superficial area of the station is about thirty-five acres. It is much superior to any other in this part of England, and forms a parallelogram [r], with the corners rounded like those at Burgh, Chesterford, and Dorchester.

The Eastern end, in which was the *porta prætoriana*, is 1120 feet in extent, and the North and South sides, in which

[9] See Act of Parliament, Anno Septimo Jacobi I. 1609, vol. III. cap. 20, which enumerates 74 parishes in Norfolk, and 15 in Suffolk, subject to inundations caused by Spring tides assisted by strong Westerly winds.

[r] This nearly agrees with the form of encampments described in *Cæsar's Commentaries*; and, according to the author of the *Travels of Anacharsis the younger* *, who quotes *Herodotus* †, was also in use by the Persians, and probably by the Grecians, some centuries before Mardonius, Xerxes's general, at the battle of Platea, caused a space of ten stadia ‡ square to be surrounded with a deep ditch, and likewise with walls and wooden towers.

* *Introduct. Travels in Greece*, p. 302.

† *Lib. IX. cap. 15.*

‡ More than a mile.

were

· T H E · R I V E R · T E S E ·

Porta Decumana



Porta Principalis Dextra

200 300 400 500 Feet.

Porta Principalis Sinistra

Cantor Church



Porta Praetorium

· T H E · R O A D · T O · N O R W I C H ·

· T H E · I C H N O G R A P H Y · O F · V E N T A · I C E N D R Y M ·

were the right and left hand gates, are 1349 feet in length. The West end is not exactly parallel to the East (See Plate XXI.), but is brought to an obtuse point between the *porta decumana* and the remains of a solid tower, now standing close to the river, preventing the probability of an assault in that quarter, which, in a station of this magnitude, must have been of great consequence, and by means thereof they could get to the river unmolested. This tower, although much wasted by time, and the river washing against it, is still 33 feet in circumference, and is built with flints and mortar, in irregular strata with Roman tiles, like the remains of Burgh castle, Chesterford, St. Albans, &c. &c. The Romans employed in their camps and armies artificers and workmen of all sorts who not only worked themselves, but superintended those less skilful, in manufacturing bricks, tessellæ, lime, and mortar; and those stations whose vicinity afforded the best materials for building, from the uncommon hardness of their bricks, and the durable though simple method of incorporating the lime and sand for mortar and cement, have bid defiance to all weather, though in the most perishable situations. Several parts of Norfolk are noted for producing the hardest and best bricks in the kingdom; in the neighbourhood of *Caestre* particularly is found excellent earth for that very purpose, and from the density of the bricks used in this station, most probably no pains were spared in mixing the earth, and moulding them with the clay in a stiffer state than is usual at present; and as the country at that time, probably, afforded firing in plenty, the well burning them made only the difference of the trouble in felling wood. There are not many tiles to be found in the remaining walls; but from a piece of the ruin I observed in the Northern fosse, almost buried in

Vol. XII.

T

earth

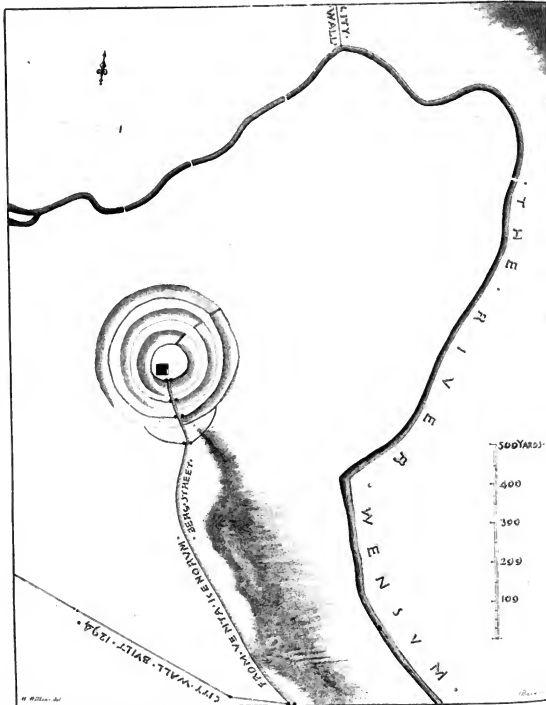
earth and overgrown with grafs, it appeared as if the walls had been faced, like thofe of Burgh caſtle: for it is compoſed of three alternate courſes of tiles [1], and a thickneſs of from eighteen inches to two feet and upwards of flints and pebbles cemented with mortar [2]. The neighbouring fields at a few feet from the ſurface yield excellent chalk; rough ſand and rubble are alſo to be found here in abundance, ſo that, as Dr. Higgins obſerves in his experiments on calcareous earths, “ chance furniſhed all that ſkill could aim at, in the choice and preparation of this article,” the moſt important in holding the walls of the ancients together, as they were unaffiſted with bond-timber. It may be obſerved here, the roughneſs of the mortar, which is mixed with ſhingle, ſome of which meaſures an inch and more in diameter, accounts for the thickneſs of the joints between the tiles, which varies from three quarters to two inches.

Roman coins are very frequently found within the walls, and in the adjacent grounds, ſeveral of which I have in my poſſeſſion, and the ploughmen, who were working in the Eaſtern end of the ſtation, ſold me two which they had found the preceding day, one of Conſtantine, and one of Diocleſian.

On the decline of the Roman empire, A. D. 446, moſt of the forces, which conſiſted of Britiſh auxiliaries as well as Romans, were withdrawn by Maximus and Conſtantine.

[1] The external angles of Caſter church, which ſtands in the South-eaſt corner of the ſtation (ſee Plate XXI.), are built with tiles from the ruins; they meaſure 18 inches long by 12 inches broad, and from 1½ inch to 2 inches in thickneſs.

[2] The workmen employed in building walls with theſe materials were called *caementarii*. Mr. Hefſey's remarks on brick and ſtone buildings in England. *Archæologia*, vol. IV. p. 94.



• SITE OF THE NORTHWIC PRIOR TO THE BUILDING OF THE CITY •

Britain now having lost these her best soldiers and the assistance of the Romans, after having been subject to them near four hundred years, became a weak people and an easy prey to the Piets and Scots until the reign of Vortigern prince of Dumnonium, who invited the Saxons for assistance; but the Saxons soon after repaid themselves by dispossessing the Britons after many battles; and establishing three new kingdoms. UFFA [u] was the first Saxon king who (A. D. 575) assumed the dominion of the East Angles, containing Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, whose inhabitants were from him called UFFKINES, and it appears that Norwich was founded about this æra, and was called in Saxon Norþwic, or Northwic [v], from its relative situation to the ancient Venta Icenorum, being about three miles to the North of it, on a cape bounded by the river Wensum, which at this point makes an acute winding from the West to the South-west. See in plate XXII, a map of the cape prior to the building of Norwich. The site of the building is also shewn with the supposed road from Venta Icenorum, which was the principal entrance for some centuries afterwards, and what is now called Ber-street [w].

It is probable, the Roman station at Venta Icenorum was about this time deserted. The elevated site of Northwic, so well accommodated to the British and Saxon modes of fortification, its superior conveniency for navigation, and its command of the rich adjacent country, were objects not to be overlooked; and in fact we find in A. D. 642, it was one of

[u] The eighth in descent from the famous Woden. From Uffa the succeeding kings here were called *Uffinger*. Malinsb. lib. I. Indeed most of the Saxon princes were reputed to have sprung from Woden. Hume's Hist. of England.

[v] Gibbon's Camden, p. 385.

[w] *Err*, *Bag*, *Ber* street, i. e. the street leading to the castle.

the seats and a royal castle of Anna the seventh king of the East Angles. Tonbert, whom Bede calls a prince of the South Girvii [x], in the year 652 married Etheldreda [y] the daughter of king Anna, by which marriage the Isle of Ely was settled on her in dower [z], and after the decease of Tonbert, part of the possessions annexed to the monastery which she founded at Ely, were held by Castle-guard service of the castle of Norwich [a]. This circumstance, which is noted by Bede, Speed, Spelman, and other historians, shews the antiquity of the castle; and the sum of money paid afterwards

[x] North and South Girvia were two provinces belonging to the East Angles, what is now called the Isle of Ely. Tonbert was the proprietor, as appears by his making it a marriage settlement; by which it descended to the princess Etheldreda on the decease of her husband, A. D. 955. Bentham's Ely, p. 47.

[y] Ixning, now a small village in Suffolk, bordering on Cambridgeshire, was also one of the seats of king Anna, where St. Etheldreda, the foundress of the church, and first abbess of Ely, was born about A. D. 630. Ibid. p. 45.

Holkham in Norfolk was another seat of king Anna, where St. Withburga his youngest daughter was sent to nurse. The place was sometime called Withburgstowe, and a church was built in memory of her at the death of her father, A. D. 654-5. Ibid. p. 76.

This village has since recovered its ancient name of Holkham, where the late earl of Leicester built a magnificent palace, which descended to the family of Thomas William Coke, Esq. one of the present members of parliament for the county of Norfolk.

[z] Desponsatur itaque biennio ante interfessionem patris sui. MS, Lib. Elien. lib. I. cap. 4. Bentham's Ely, p. 46.

[a] These lands must have been liable to Castle-guard service before they were granted to Ely monastery; for by the laws of the Saxons*, lands granted to the church were not liable to secular services, unless they were first imposed on them when they were given to secular men. Bede, l. IV. cap. 26, p. 198.

* Ethelwolph, son of Egbert, ordained, that riches and lands due to the holy church should be free from all tribute or regal services. Bede's Hist. Eccles. lib. III. cap. 22.

by Hervey the first bishop of Ely [b] for the king's transferring the service of those who held of the church by knight's service from Norwich castle to the Isle of Ely; shews also the great possessions appertaining to Norwich castle in king Anna's times.

Little can be learned relating to the castle of Norwich, from the time of king Anna to the reign of king Alfred the Great, but that there were frequent conflicts with the Danes, who, in A. D. 866 [c], formed a considerable army in the kingdom of the East Angles, and in 870 wintered at Thetford, and soon after slew Edmund king of the East Angles in an engagement where his army was routed.

The castle of Norwich from its situation, so near the German ocean, was generally the first object of the Danish invasions, and we find it frequently in their possession.

It is said in the life of king Alfred [d], that he found the walls of the Saxon castles, which were of earth [e], incompetent for defence against the Danes, and that he accordingly im-

[b] £.1000 Bentham's Ely, p. 132. See Carta Regis Henrici I. de acquietatione de warda Militum in Castello Regis de Norwic. Ex iisdem MSS. Bentham's Appendix, N° xviii.

[c] Saxon Annals.

[d] Afferius Menevensis de vita et gestis Regis Aluredi. Edit. Francforti, 1603.

[e] Stone for buildings was in use with the Saxons prior to this time, and particularly so in the kingdom of the East Angles, the conventual church at Ely in the time of the Heptarchy, 673, the chapel at Orford, and the Saxon church at Dunwich, both in Suffolk, of whose foundation there are no records. Their plans are similar to that at Ely, and from Dunwich being the seat of Felix, the first bishop of the East Angles *, it is probable, that both the buildings at Dunwich and at Orford were built about that æra, 630 or 636, or soon after, possibly by his successors.

* At Donmok there was Felix first bishop
Of I-stangle, and taught chryſten faith,

That is full hye in heven I hope. Harding, cap. 91. Weever, p. 717.

proved

proved their fortifications with brick and stone buildings, and that the royal castle at Norwich in particular was repaired in this manner by him. "Among his other accomplishments, he was skilful in architecture, and excelled his predecessors in elegance of building and adorning his palaces; in constructing large ships for the security of his coasts, and erecting castles in convenient parts of his kingdom. Indeed architecture before this time had been almost wholly confined to religious structures; but now it was by Alfred, and his two immediate successors, chiefly applied to military purposes, in erecting fortresses and towers, and in building and repairing walled towns, which became necessary to curb the insolence and perfidy of the Danes [f]."

About A. D. 883 King Alfred obtained, at Ethandun in Essex, a victory over Godrum [g] king of the Danes, to whom he granted peace on condition of their leaving England, but afterwards, on Godrum's conversion to Christianity, king Alfred being his sponsor gave to him and his people, who were also converted, the kingdom of the East Angles to hold in fealty, and the castle of Norwich was his royal seat. This was not long enjoyed by the Danes; for this forced conversion had but little influence on Eshric, the successor to Godrum, who joined the seditious Ethelwold, and was slain in a battle against king Edward surnamed the elder, in 905 [h]. The kingdom of the East Angles became now again subject to the Saxon kings, and the castle of Norwich continued a royal castle in quiet possession of the Saxon line through the reigns of Athelstan, Edmund, Edred or Eldred,

[f] Bentham's Remarks on Saxon Churches, p. 27.

[g] Godrum, Gothrum, or Guthrum. Brady's Hist. of England, p. 115.

[h] Brady, lb. p. 117.

Edwin,

Edwin, Edgar, and Edward the martyr [i]; but, in king Etheldred's reign the castle and town ~~were~~ said to have been utterly destroyed by Swane [k] king of Denmark, who invaded Norwich with a fleet in the year 1004 [l]. Ulfkettel earl of the East Angles endeavoured to draw his forces together as soon as possible in order to repulse the Danes before they reached Thetford, and he sent a messenger to the neighbouring country with command to burn the Danish shipping, whilst the men were advancing into the country. This order was by some means neglected; but though the Danes accomplished their design of destroying Thetford without any check from Ulfkettle, yet in their retreat from Thetford he met them with a considerable detachment, and gave them battle; a sharp engagement ensued, attended with great slaughter on both sides, and had the whole of the Anglian army been in the field, the Danes would, most probably, never have reached Norwich; as it was, they reached their ships and returned home again for that season. Norwich continued in this desolate state until A. D. 1010 [m], when the Danish invaders came once more, and fought another battle with Ulfkettle at a place then called Rignere near Ipswich, which terminated in favour of the Danes, who from this time possessed themselves of the whole province of the East Angles. The next year the Danish earl Turkell [n] expelled Ulfkettel, and held the government of this province until Canute be-

[i] Various coins executed in Norwich in these reigns are mentioned in Blomefield, p. 4.

[k] Or Sweyne.

[l] Chron. Sax. p. 133

[m] Chron. Sax. p. 139.

[n] Or Turketil.

came

came sole monarch in 1017, who continued him in his government, and committed to him the custody of Norwic. Roger Bigod was made constable of the castle by William the Conqueror about the year 1077, and the family of the Bigods continued in that office, with little intermission, until Roger Bigod, his fifth successor, surrendered it to king Edward the Third in 1225; but in 1273 it was again granted to the Bigods, and in 1293 Roger Bigod, as earl of Norfolk, was constable of the castle, where the sheriff of the county [e] was to keep criminals in safe custody till the coming of the Justices itinerant and jail delivery; notwithstanding the constables often refused the sheriffs that power, until an act of parliament in the 14th year of Edward III. [f], that the sheriffs should have the custody of the same goals and prisoners as they used to have, yet for a long time after this the king did nominate a constable to the castle, in respect to its defence, in his name; for, in 1354, 29 Edward III. Roger Clerk was constable of the castle. In 1312 Thomas de Brotherton [g] had a charter of the king in tail general of the honors [r] of Roger Bigod, marshal of England and earl of Norfolk [s], and by virtue of this charter he was constable of the castle of Norwich.

[e] Royal castles were frequently committed to the sheriff, who was called Custos, or Keeper of the Castle; but barons, &c. were called Constables of the Castles, and exercised royal power within their jurisdiction; which sheriffs never did, without a special writ for so doing.

[f] Gurdon's essay on Norwich castle.

[g] Second son of King Edward I. by his second wife. Blomefield, vol. I. p. 56.

[r] The honour of Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk was 125 fees, that is, 85 thousand acres. Madox's *Baronia Anglicana*, cap. 3.

[s] Blomefield, vol. I. p. 56.

In 1327 king Edward confirmed Brotherton's honours, and he was continued constable of the castle. The office still continued, though frequently abridged by grants to the corporation of Norwich; and we find that in 1470 Sir John Paston was in expectation of it [1].

Having briefly given the history of the castle, I shall now proceed to explain the site and manner of the fortifications, and to give a description of the keep and the stile of architecture in which it is built.

Canute, who was cautious in securing his Anglian possessions, built several strong forts and castles. It is conjectured, and indeed it is most probable, that the present castle was built by him [2]. Although the building is of Danish workmanship, it is notwithstanding in the taste of architecture practised by the Saxons long before England became subject

[1] "For my mastyr the Erle of Oxynforthe bydeth me axe and have. I trow my brodyr Sir John shall have the constabyllship of Norwych castyll wt xxii of fee; for all the lordys be agreyd to it." John Paston's Letter to his Mother, dated 11 Oct. 1470, 10 Edward IV. See Sir John Fenn's Letters, vol. II. p. xxxvi.

[2] "Under the grand portal of the East front of the castle are two impost stones, from which the great arch springs, which have each a lion in *hassé reliefs*; and as Mr. Camden ascribes the building to Bigod from the two lions carved in stone there, from these very lions I rather take Canute to be the builder of it; for he bore for coat armour *lions passant guardant*, and a carver that was not nicely versed in heraldry, might, instead of *guardant* carve *lions passant regardant*, or *saliant*; which postures are so widely different from *passant* to the most cursory view, that the extremity of carelessness could hardly produce such a mistake." Gurdon's Antiq. of Norwich Castle.

I do not quote this passage of Mr. Gurdon in proof of the age of the building, because I shall afterwards endeavour to shew that this part was built by one of the Bigods; the main tower, however, was most likely built by Canute, or some of his predecessors.

to the Danes, and it is the best exterior specimen of this kind of architecture extant.

The altitude of the promontory on which the keep of this castle is built appears to be chiefly the work of nature, excepting what has probably been thrown out from the inner vallum; for it may be observed, that the ground from the castle for the best part of a mile Southwards is nearly level with the upper ballium, although it dips to the West, and most rapidly to the East. See plate XXII. towards the river.

The area of the whole castle, including the three ditches [*x*] which circumscribed it, could not contain less than twenty-three acres, and the principal entrance was from Ber street [*y*] through the Barbican [*z*] over a bridge crosses the outward vallum [*a*], which was at the South end of what is now called the Golden Ball lane, which you enter at D. Plate XXIII. The outward vallum has been from time immemorial filled up. On the inside verge of this vallum stood the outward wall of the outer ballium or space between the middle and outer ditches [*b*]. The space between the

[*x*] Ditch, moat, fosse, vallum, a hollow space on the outside of walls or ramparts.

[*y*] Ber, Berg, Burg-street, *i. e.* the street leading to the castle.

[*z*] An advanced work placed at the front of the entrance of a castle, a watch-tower.

“ Within the *Barbican* a porter sat,

“ Day and night duly keeping watch and ward.”

Spenser's *Fairie Queene*.

For repairing the *Barbican* a tax called *Barbicanage* was levied on certain lands. Carta 17 Edward III. m. 6 n. 14.

[*a*] On the triangular space, see Plate XXIII. at F, on the right-hand as you enter the Barbican stood the church of St. Martin in *Ballwa* or *Bailiffwick* of the castle, which was totally exempt from all episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction. It was taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[*b*] See plate XXIII.

middle and inner ditch was called the inner ballium, and had a wall in the same manner. Round the upper ballium was another wall, which circumscribed the keep or castle. "These walls were commonly flanked with towers, and had a parapet, embattled, crenellated, or gargetted; for the mounting of it there were flights of steps at convenient distances, and the parapet often had the merlons pierced with long chinks ending in round holes, called œillets [*c*]."

The middle vallum has been more recently levelled, and vestiges of it may yet be seen in a South-east direction from the keep, towards Beaumont's hill, and towards London-lane and the back of the inns to the North-west, where there are private yards of 18 or 20 feet descent in some parts. Some few points of the outer vallum may also be traced: on the North side (see plate XXIII. at A.), is an entrance to Pottergate-street from the London-lane. A few years since the descent was so sudden at this point, that the communication from one street to the other was by means of steps only, and the passage is still called St. Andrew's steps, from their being within that parish. This agrees exactly with the proper site of the wall of the outer ballium. Another point is at B on the West side, where Blomefield says, the outer vallum extended as far as the *Magna Croft*, or the Great Croft of the castle, now the market-place [*d*]. Another point is also given at G, where he says [*e*] that on the East the ditch ex-

[*c*] Grose's Preface on ancient castles, p. 6. The walls to the city of Norwich, which were built in 1294, were constructed in this way. Plate XXII.

[*d*] Blomefield's Norwich, p. 646. "The market-place was the *Magna Croft*, or Great Croft, belonging to the castle, to the outward ditch of which it adjoined, and at first was open from St. Stephen's church to the *Hall*, now called Dove lane." The parish is yet called St. Peter of *Mamcroft*.

[*e*] Blomefield, p. 575.

tended almost to the Conisford-street; and, indeed, I remember some vestiges of it, which were levelled in the castle meadow within the last twenty years. There were bridges over each of these vallums, and the foundations [*f*] of the bridge over the middle vallum may yet be traced in a line from the Barbican to the present passage over the inner vallum.

The bridge over the inner vallum to the keep of the castle is still remaining, and is probably the same which was originally built by the Saxons [*g*]. The arch which supports it is a *cima* of forty feet three inches in diameter, and the largest arch of Saxon workmanship in the kingdom. The soffit of the arch is constructed with bricks, which have induced some to pronounce it of Roman workmanship; but we have sufficient evidences of bricks made and used in Saxon edifices [*h*], although the use of them was soon after the Norman Conquest laid aside; besides, the bricks of which I am now speaking are so very unlike the Roman tiles in scantling, that we may without conjecture determine the work not to be Roman; and the abutments on which the arch rests have the same simple kind of impost molding in stone so generally used by the Saxons, and afterwards by the Norman architects [*i*]. The height of the imposts on which the arch rests is three feet and a half, and the radius of the arch is twenty feet one inch and a half; so

[*f*] Workmen were employed some years since to destroy these foundations. Their progress was so slow, from the materials being so strongly cemented together, that their employers desisted from the undertaking, and they still appear, in some places, a few inches above the surface of the ground.

[*g*] "The bridge leading to it is indeed unquestionably one of the most perfect Saxon arches now extant." Mr. King's Observations, Archæol. vol. IV. p. 337. See Plate XLIV. p. 175, 176.

[*h*] See Mr. Effex's Remarks on brick and stone buildings. Archæologia, vol. IV.

[*i*] See profiles of these mouldings, fig. 4, &c. Plate XXXV.

that

that its height is twenty-three feet seven inches and a half; of course it was formerly much more, from the fosse having been at various times the receptacle for filth and rubbish.

At the termination of the bridge upon the upper ballium are the remains of two circular towers (Plate XXIII. marked a a), fourteen feet in diameter. I imagine these were connected together, and formed the original portal, joining the wall which circumscribed the upper ballium [k]. Plate XXIII. is a plan of these fortifications, which it cannot be said are formed in conjecture. The keep, the upper ballium, the inner vallum, the bridge over it, and the portal foundations, are even now existing; the form of the adjacent streets, and of the ground on which many houses are now erected on the North and West sides corresponding with both the external and internal lines of the middle vallum, with other circumstances before mentioned, which an observer may very easily trace, are sufficient evidences of the site of the middle vallum. As to the outer vallum, we cannot doubt that the extent was equal to the plan here shewn, though from the site being mostly covered with buildings, &c. it cannot be traced so as to mark out its form with the same precision as the inner and middle vallums, yet from what has been advanced, and from some of its points being given, it may fairly be presumed the plan cannot be very erroneous. Mr. Blomefield [l], whom I have often quoted on this occasion, says,

[l] "The entrance into the ballium was commonly through a strong machicolated and embattled gate, between two towers secured by a herse," (Grofe's Preface, p. 7.) or portcullis, *porta clausa*, q. d. a port close, a machine like a harrow, which slid through grooves of stone in the jambs of the gateway, and hung before the gates.

[l] See Hist. of Norwich, p. 573-

"At

"At the North end of the Golden ball lane [*m*] was the gate of the castle entering the outward vallum or trench, and was *the principal entrance into the Barbican*." In this I have differed from him; for that plan would bring the site of the outer ballium into the middle ditch; I have therefore placed the entrance into the Barbican at the South end of the lane [*n*]: for it appears clear to me, that the lane was the actual road through the Barbican. I cannot conceive there could be any reason for making this sudden turn from the wide road in Berg-street to approach the castle. Had the entrance into the Barbican been at C, the road would doubtless have pointed from Berg-street to C, whereas it goes by the corner at D, which was the entrance into the outwork; besides the form of the street from D to E, called Beaumont's hill, agrees exactly with the half plan of such walls as were generally used for defending the Barbican.

Such were the exterior fortifications as practised by the Anglo-Saxons, which, although different from the Romans, are, notwithstanding, probably of as great antiquity [*o*]: for it agrees with the mode cited by Josephus from Berosus,

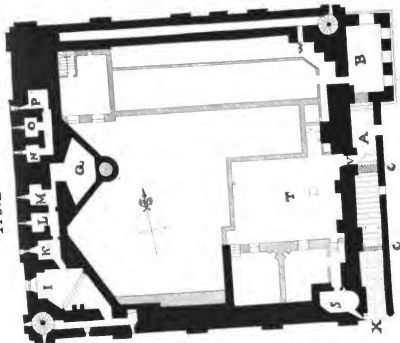
[*m*] See plan, Plate XXIII. at C.

[*n*] See plan, Plate XXI. at D.

[*o*] "I cannot help observing, that the resemblance which the devices, and the mode of fortification, both in this (Norwich) Saxon castle, and in that at Colechester, have to those built in the more improved Norman times, seems to indicate that the general plan was taken from structures of a still earlier date than either, especially as the description given by Josephus of the tower of Antonia at Jerusalem may lead us to suspect this mode of building to have been very ancient indeed, and to have been known and introduced even before the age in which he lived." Mr. King's *Observations on Ancient Castles*. *Archæologia*, vol. IV. p. 398.

"That

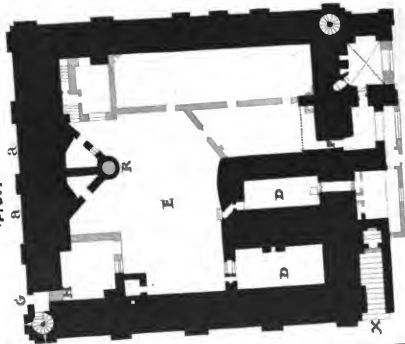
• FIG. 2.



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

• PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR.

• FIG. 1.



• PLAN OF THE BASEMENT FLOOR.

• NORWICH CASTLE.

"That Nebuchadonosor fortified Babylon with a *triple enclosure of brick walls* of a surprizing strength and height [*p*]."

Polybius speaking of Syrinx the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus besieged, says "That city was surrounded with *three fosses*, each forty-five feet broad, and twenty-two feet deep; upon each side there was a double entrenchment, and behind all a wall [*q*]. "The city of Jerusalem," says Josephus [*r*], "was surrounded by a *triple wall*, except on the side of the valleys, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible. The whole was flanked with towers of extraordinary solidity, and built with wonderful art."

The keep [*s*], which was the last resort of the besiegers, is here placed, as they generally were, in the upper ballium, or center of the other works [*t*]. Its extent from East to West, including a small tower, through which was the principal entrance, 110 feet 3 inches, and from North to South 92 feet 10 inches, and its height to the top of the merlons of the battlements 69 feet 6 inches; the height of the basement-floor is about 24 feet, the outside of which is faced with flints, and has no external ornament except two arches on the West side (see Plate XXIV. at a a of the basement plan, fig. 1.): These arches, Mr. King observes [*u*], were originally intended as a deception to an enemy, giving an idea of weakness externally, where in fact was the greatest strength and security; for the wall is not only of thirteen feet in thickness in this place, but within,

[*p*] Rollin on Ancient Fortifications, vol. II. p. 46.

[*q*] X. c. 28. p. 138.

[*r*] Bell. Jud. VI. c. 6.

[*s*] The contrivances of these buildings are described by Mr. King. Archæol. vol. IV. and VI.

[*t*] The keep of Cambridge castle was in the exterior works.

[*u*] Observations on Norwich castle. Archæol. vol. IV. p. 401.

it was additionally barricadoed with two oblique walls, which have been recently taken down. See the plans at A and R. The approach to the keep was at the stair-case by X, at the South-east corner facing the bridge, which passed through two portals (at C C fig. 2.) to the landing A, where Mr. King conjectures was a draw-bridge [x], and from thence up a few more steps at B into Bigod's tower, which is now enclosed, and its height divided into two rooms. This was an open portal or vestibule to the grand entrance of the castle, with three arches facing the East, which commanded a most beautiful and very extensive view down the river for several miles, and one arch facing the North. From this vestibule is still remaining a small entrance at V, and the only one into the castle at that time, excepting the passage F fig. 1, which appears unquestionably to have been the old sally-port under the arched landing, and is the only passage from the basement floor to the upper ballium. A few only of the original apartments of the first floor are now remaining. The door-way at W is now bricked up, which communicated to the small stair-case at the North-east corner, and a long narrow passage, which most probably led to the small rooms on the West side of the castle. The inside of the castle has been so much altered from having been long used as a county gaol [y], that little can be said, or even conjectured, of the original plan, and the various uses of the rooms. What remains in the base-

[x] Archæol. vol. IV. p. 398. This has, however, been since taken down, when I found the landing was strongly supported by very strong arched work of apparent antiquity with the original building.

[y] It appears from the record called *Testa de Nevil* that scions were imprisoned here so early as king Henry the First's time.

ment-

ment-floor serves for little more than to excite our wonder at the thickness and strength of the walls, and horror for the wretches who were confined in these darksome dungeons, deprived of light and of a free circulation of air, as they must necessarily have been in those vaults, D D, whose arches appear to have been, and most undoubtedly were, covered over with floors for the apartments of state for the chieftain, and others for his soldiers, his vassals, and also war machines, which at that time were large and occupied much room. In the South-west corner is another winding stair-case, that has now no other approach but at G. fig. 1. plate XXIV. but this door is of recent workmanship; the way was formerly at H in the present chapel [2]. This stair-case is now the only communication to the rooms on the first floor I, K, L, M (see fig. 2. Plate XXIV.). The room I has an arch crossing it diagonally, as shewn by the double lines, and beyond these are other apartments over the solid wall of the basement floor, marked N, O, P, which were probably bricked up when the building Q was demolished, where, from the apertures now stopped up, appears to have been the principal access to all those rooms in the West side of the castle; and I am led to conjecture, that Q also communicated with the state apartments as well as with apartments for the soldiery still higher; for in a gallery over these rooms the arched work is vaulted to a considerable height, and a spacious passage is formed towards Q, giving room, apparently, to raise the war engines in use at that time [a], as well as for the convenience of getting water from the

[2] The chapel is now taken away to give room to new alterations.

[a] Catapultæ, Espringolds, Arblastiers, &c. &c. In 1342 the gates and towers of the city were furnished by Richard Spynk, citizen, with 30 espringolds
Vol. XII. X to

the well at R, fig. 1 [b], for it was usual to have their wells so contrived, that, in case of a close siege, the garrison could be supplied with water by a pipe in the wall, communicating with every floor, and also with the leads of the castle. In the South-east corner of the building, room S from the upper gaol-yard T, was probably an oratory, or oriel, lighted from the East, having some rude sculpture in one of the walls, which I caused to be cleared of the white-wash which hid it. See Plate XXV. fig. 8. The first figure appears to be the Virgin Mary crowned with the child Jesus in her arms, and by him an angel; the second St. Catharine; the third St. Christopher; below is St. George, or St. Michael the archangel and the Devil; and the next is a mutilated figure holding a large sword.

It is not possible at this time to conjecture, of what rooms the remaining large space consisted. In a building of this magnitude they were, probably, very spacious and elegant, as it was sometimes usual to ornament the walls of the principal apartments with paintings, as those of "the hall of Tamworth castle in Warwickshire, where is an old rude painting on the wall of Sir Launcelot du Lake, and Sir Tarquin, drawn in gigantic size, and tilting together [c]; and at the Duke's

to cast great stones with, and to every espringold one hundred gogions, or balls locked up in a box, with ropes and other accoutrements belonging to them, also four great arblasters, or cross bows, and to each of them one hundred gogions, or balls, and two pair of grapples to draw up the bows with, besides other armour. Lib. Introit. civium I. pp. 3. 5.

[b] This is now entirely built over, but the well has been partly filled up in the memory of persons still living.

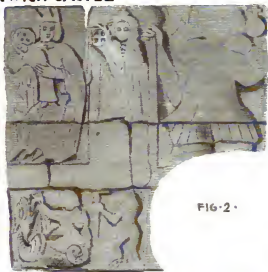
Fig. 3. is a capital in the same room.

Fig. 4. is a capital on the great stair-case near the portal.

[c] Watton's Observations on Spenser's Fairie Queen, vol. I. p. 43.

castle

•NORWICH CASTLE•



BIGODS TOWER.

NORWICH CASTLE.

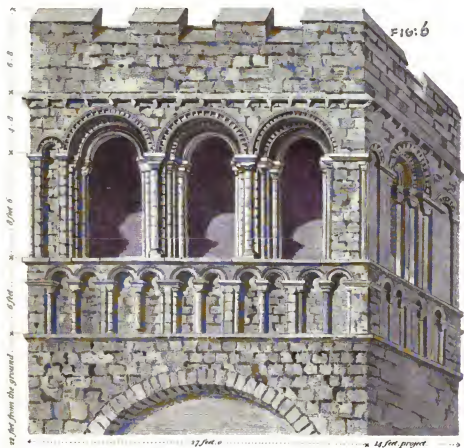


FIG: 2.



FIG: 1.



FIG: 3.



FIG: 5.



FIG: 4.

castle at Hesden in Artois, wherein was *craftyly and curyously depeynted the Conqueste of the Golden Fleece* [d]."

Since the foregoing Essay was written, the castle has undergone a very material alteration. The East front, in which was the grand entrance, is grossly mutilated and entirely hidden by an additional building, that appears to have no kind of connection with it, and though in all former repairs and changes the original elevation of the structure had been constantly attended to, yet this unfortunate addition has totally destroyed its symmetry. Every eye is sensible of the incongruity which this novel kind of prison architecture has occasioned; and we have now only to lament, that the original style and purity of the building has been so palpably violated by this heavy excrescence, which, instead of assimilating with the character of the edifice, serves only to hide so much of its original structure. This venerable pile of antiquity has been the seat and castle of defence to British, Saxon, and Norman kings, and powerful baron chieftains; it has been the boast and pride of the province for ages past; it was not less the admiration of the stranger than the antiquary, and this admirable fabric was also one of the few remaining models of Antonia at Jerusalem [e]; yet by a recent change it is now bereaved of its ancient beauty, under pretence of giving more internal convenience for the accommodation of its miserable tenants; but surely, whatever additions were necessary, might have preserved externally the same character and apparent date of architecture with the mutilated parts of this stately pile. The interior has been gutted also, and equally as ill

[d] Warton's Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, vol. 1. p. 177, from Caution's Prologue.

[e] See Mr. King's Account of Ancient Castles in Archaeologia.

managed; small courts furrounded by lofty buildings, which almost, I may say totally, exclude every cheering ray of the sun from its wretched inhabitants. The felon, the prisoner untried, the debtor, and the gaoler, the guilty, and the innocent, share in the calamity. Perhaps, no place on earth accords better with Milton's description :

“ Dungeon horrible, on all sides round

* * * * *

“ No light, but rather darkness visible

“ Served only to discover sights of woe,

“ Regions of sorrow ! doleful shades ! where peace

“ And rest can never dwell.”

Paradise Lost, B. I. l. 61.

Of the Architecture of NORWICH CASTLE.

THIS country, although subject to Rome, the mistress of the world, in an enlightened age, partook but in a very small degree of its elegance and luxuries, if we may judge from the architectural Roman remains existing at this time. After the departure of Constantine, a style was adopted in which were united strength and grandeur; but it differed so much from the ancient architecture of Greece and Rome, that, although it is said by some authors [f] to be a corruption of the Roman, from some of its resemblances, yet an architectural eye may immediately discover the difference; indeed, it is now

[f] Bentham's Ely, p. 18. and Warton on Spenser, vol. II. p. 186.

better

better and more generally known by the title of *Saxon*, from its being practised by the Saxons prior to the Norman Conquest. In the eleventh century some alterations in the Saxon style of architecture took place. They were introduced by the Normans, and were executed in a very rough massive way at first; but in a short time they became more expert workmen, and there were many stately buildings remaining to bear testimony of the profuse ornaments they afterwards adopted, especially the principal entrances and choirs of ecclesiastical buildings. We find them improving in their workmanship until the middle of the twelfth century, in almost every province in the kingdom, particularly at Rochester under the superintendence of bishop Gundulph, whose skill and expertness in masonry caused it there to be styled GUNDULPH'S ARCHITECTURE. Ernulph [g], a native of France, soon after the death of Gundulph, was promoted to the Abbacy of Peterborough. He also became proficient in this style of building, and various specimens of his taste are still to be seen at Rochester, Canterbury, Peterborough, &c. Notwithstanding the semi-circular arch and the frequent repetition of ornament in some of the detailed finishings of the mouldings may, at first sight, give these works an appearance of similarity to Roman architecture, yet it is altogether widely different. Authors are not agreed as to the origin of Saxon architecture; and it is equally difficult to trace the origin of the Gothic style, which immediately succeeded it, and continued in use for upwards of four hundred years after.

Some writers are of opinion, that the Saxons or Normans had it from Persia, where there are still ancient remains of

[g] Gundulph died 1107. } Thorpe's Antiquities of Kent, p. 153.
Ernulph died 1125. }

buildings

buildings bearing some of the massive features characteristic of this style, particularly that of *Tauk Keffera* [b]; and that of some of the buildings in India described by the pencil of the ingenious Mr. Hodges has also some resemblances.

The Rev. Mr. Ledwich, in his *Observations on ancient churches*, has given copies of arches [i] surrounded with the *Zig-zag* ornament from a Syrian MS. written A. D. 586, which agrees with the arches of many buildings to be seen here, though the capitals, columns, and bases, are not characteristic of the style in question.

There is also a door-way to the grand apartment of a very magnificent house [k] at Grand Cairo, said to have been built by *Sultan Nasir Ibn Calaboun*, who was the seventh king of Egypt of the Mamalukes called *Bacharites*, and lived about the year 1279 [l].

The

[b] "The East face of *Tauk Keffera*, near the river Tygris, is 300 feet in length, the breadth of the arch 85 feet, and height 106 feet; the front on each side the arch is full of niches like our cathedrals; the length of the arched roof from East to West 150 feet. One of our Turkish servants, who spoke a little of the Portuguese language, told my man, that the general opinion of the country was, that *Tauk Keffera* was not built by a *Persian*, *Parthian*, *Turk*, or any other *Asiatic*, but by an *European* prince, who came into this part of the world with a large army and subdued it. As we had not yet met with any edifice in *Asia* carrying with it so great a resemblance of the ancient *European* architecture as this, it struck me that *Tauk Keffera* might have been constructed, soon after the conquest of this part of the world, by Alexander the Great, or one of his captains *."

Mr. Ives's *Route from Bassora to Latichea*, p. 290.

[i] *Archæologia*, vol. VIII. p. 170. Pl. XIII.

[k] Dr. Pocock's *Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 37. Pl. XIII.

[l] This must have been more than a hundred years after the Norman taste was dropped in England, and the new style generally adopted, when pointed

* Ctesiphon, &c.

The Saxons supported their arches which separated the ailes by a single column, or rather pier, which was circular, octangular, or hexangular, in the plan; whereas the Norman architects supported theirs in general with extremely massive piers, ornamented on their sides and angles with upright small columns, and sometimes they intermixed them with round piers like the Saxons [m], as may be seen in Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, and other cathedrals. They differed widely, however, from the Roman proportions, and the Normans encreased the difference, as is shewn by the following comparison.

Saxon proportions.

	Diameters		Height		
	ft.	inc.	ft.	inc.	diam.
Piers to the chancel at Orford in Suffolk	3	3	13	= 0	4
Width of the arches	3 diameters				
Piers to the conventual church at Ely	2	4	14	= 6	2
Width of the arches	3 diameters				

Norman proportions.

Piers in Norwich cathedral	—	7	3	14	6 = 2
Width of the arches	2 diameters				

The same proportions may be observed in Ely, Peterborough, and other Norman buildings.

arches † and prominent buttresses made their appearance; although this is subsequent to the origin of what is called Gothic, yet it shews that the former style was still continued in some degree in those countries.

[m] Gundulph's tower in Rochester castle appears divided by all round piers. See the beautiful view by Mr. Hearne in Bowyer's elegant History of England, N° 10.

† The first appearance of the pointed arch in this country was probably towards the latter end of the reign of Henry the First, in the church of Frensbury, built by Paulinus the Sacrist, between the years 1125 and 1137.

Biblioth. Topograph. Brit. N° VI. part 2. p. 118.

The semi-circular and interfectèd arches, the *Zig-zag* [n] ornament, the *Billet moulding* [o], *Hatched-work* [p], and various other species of ornament, were still continued; and though architecture cannot be said to have improved on the Saxon manner, either in lightness or in execution, yet in magnitude of design the Normans far exceeded their predecessors. The buttress of this style varies extremely from the Gothic which succeeded it; they are broad and flat on the surface, without ornament, unless a *torus* on the angles, which is sometimes to be met with, may be called such. The buttress, even in large buildings, seldom projects more than seventeen or eighteen inches; and those of Norwich castle, which are nearly six feet in width, do not project so much [q]. One of the characteristics of the style called Gothic, which succeeded, is the very prominent buttress, which mostly terminated in turrets or spires, enriched with *crockets* of foliage formed of *trefoil*, *quatrefoil*, or *cinquefoil*, as those of King's chapel, Cambridge, and almost every other Gothic building.

The only mouldings used, both by the Saxon and Norman architects, were the *torus*, the *scotia* or *reversed torus*, the *cavetto* or *hollow moulding*, and a kind of *chamfered fascia*, which latter was generally used for *imposts* or *abacuses* to their capitals. These mouldings were combined, more or less, for the various purposes of forming *arches*, *imposts*, *cornices*, *bases*, &c. The *cima recta*, the *cima reversa*, the *ovolo* or *quarter round*, the *planiere*, and other regular Grecian mouldings, *cornices*, *friezes*, &c. which compose the *entablature*, are never

[n] [o] [p] These terms are used by Mr. Warton in his *Observations on Spenser's Faery Queen*; Mr. Bentham, in his *History of Ely*; Capt. Grose, in his *Preface to the History of England*, and other writers.

[q] See A A, Plate XXV.

to be met with in the Saxon or Norman fabrics [r]. Yet their builders were more fond of variety; for it may be frequently observed in a range of columns there are as many different capitals [s]. In this respect they may be said to have copied from the Egyptians, where, in an ancient temple in the middle of Efnay, formerly Latopolis, it is said, "one capital of a column does not resemble another; though the proportion is the same, the ornaments are different [s];" and in most of our regular Saxon buildings, as that of the conventual church at Ely, and the churches of Orford and Dunwich in Suffolk, not only the capitals, but the columns and piers also differ materially. The piers at Ely are some of them circular in the plan, some octangular, some with one side of the octagon, and others with the angle of the octagon towards the choir; and at Orford every pair is differently designed.

The external ornaments of Norwich castle are in this style of architecture. From the basement floor upwards, the whole building is faced with stone, and is subdivided into three stories, flanked with *small projecting* buttresses, enriched between with semicircular arches, supported by small columns in *alto relievo* [u], and between some of the upper arches is faced with, what was called by the Romans, *reticulatum* or *net-work*; from the stones being laid diagonally, the joints represented the meshes of a net; and, to give the work a richer appear-

[r] As at Canterbury, Grimbald's crypt at Oxford, conventual church at Ely, chancel at Orford, Dunwich, Norwich castle, &c. built by the Saxons, and all the cathedrals of Norman workmanship.

[s] Fig. 13 and 20, plate XXXIV.

[t] Norden's Travels in Egypt and Nubia, vol. II. p. 83.

[u] Fig. 1, plate XXV. a specimen of the exterior decoration, taken from the West side; A A are the upper parts of two buttresses with the arched work between them.

ance, each stone was subdivided (by two cross lines pretty deeply chased) into four equal parts, the upper point receding so as to receive a shadow from the work above [*x*], giving it the appearance of *Mosaic*. This kind of work was used for ornament only; for the workmen, knowing its want of solidity, never applied it where strength was required.

On the East side of the castle is a tower projecting fourteen feet by twenty-seven feet in breadth, of a richer style of architecture, which I have ventured to call BIGOD'S TOWER [*y*]. It is decidedly of the taste in general use subsequent to the Conquest, and continued through great part of king Stephen's reign; and it was, most probably, repaired and finished in its present style by Hugh Bigod, who succeeded his brother William in the constableship of the castle early in the twelfth century.

It is an extraordinary circumstance that the arms of a king and two barons, who have held this castle, should so nearly coincide as to cause a contention between historians respecting the æra in which this castle was built, from a lion which is roughly sculptured on two of the impost stones [*z*] of the basement arch of this tower.

The animals alluded to by Camden [*a*], Gurdon [*b*], Blome-

[*x*] Plate XXV. fig. 1.

[*y*] See the upper part of the tower, fig. 6, plate XXVI. shewing the open vestibule to the entrance of the castle.

[*z*] See Plate XXVI. fig. 3.

[*a*] "The reason why I fancy Bigod repaired the castle is, because I observed *Lions saliant* cut in the stone, in the same manner as the Bigods formerly used them in their seals; of whom though there was one who made use of a cross."

Gibson's Camden, p. 187.

[*b*] See note * page 145.

field,

field [c], and Mr. King [d], who have given them to king Canute, Bigod, and Thomas de Brotherton, were executed

[c] And it seems by his (Thomas de Brotherton) arms still remaining, carved in stone on the walls, that it was he that fitted up the castle as it now stands, for I think by his * coat, twice cut on the pilasters of the arch of the stair-case, that he built that stair-case, made that arch, and added the battlements which were on the top, and left the building much as we see it now."

Blomefield's Norwich, p. 56.

[d] "There is indeed a trace of its having been built in its present form by Roger Bigod, about the time of William Rufus, and of its having been finally completed by Thomas de Brotherton, even so late as the time of Edward II., but I cannot help suspecting all this to be a mistake; for, though it may be true, with regard to the outworks, and the many great buildings enclosed within the limits and outward walls of this castle, which were formerly very extensive and numerous, that a great part of them were built and completed by those two powerful lords, yet, as to the keep, or master tower (the only considerable part now remaining), the style of its architecture is, in many respects, so different from that of the towers erected in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. and II., and the ornaments are so different from those which were in use in the reign of Edward II. (when pointed arches had been long introduced, and were esteemed the most elegant of any), that I cannot but think the building of much greater antiquity, and completely Saxon, though it is possible the stair-case might be repaired, or even rebuilt, by Thomas de Brotherton, whose arms are to be seen on a part of the wall. In short, as to the main body of the building, I take it to be the very tower which was erected about the time of king Canute, who, though himself a Dane, yet undoubtedly made use of many Saxon architects, as the far greater number of his subjects were Saxons. And I am rather induced to form this conclusion, because I can find no *authentic* account whatever of the destruction of the castle built in Canute's time, either by war or by accident; or of its being taken down in order to erect the present structure, as is supposed by some." *Observations on Ancient Castles. Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 396-7.*

* The author of the essay, fol. 36, quite mistakes the lions, by fixing them either to Canute or Bigod, they being plainly the arms of Thomas de Brotherton, second son to king Edward I. by his second wife, and so half brother to Edward II, who bore the arms of England with a label of three Argent; or, if there never was any label, he put them there in honour of his brother, under whom he held the castle.

in times when the art of carving figures in particular was at a very low ebb, and might probably be intended for the arms of one of those persons, yet the style of the architecture alone is sufficient, and is indeed an indisputable proof of the æra in which this addition to the keep was repaired or built.

Brotherton, Mr. King suggests, "might probably repair or rebuild the great stair-case [*e*] leading to this tower, which being uncovered and exposed would require more frequent repairs;" but even this probability ought not to be admitted, as the whole of the architecture is of the style antecedent to the Gothic, which was the taste prevalent in the time when Brotherton lived.

The lower part of Bigod's tower was formerly open to the upper ballium of the castle. The cieling is groined with intersecting arches of stone, and its angles are decorated with a very singular kind of *hanging billet moulding*, projecting ten inches from the cieling [*f*]. The first floor of Bigod's tower [*g*] is a landing from the great stair-case, and forms a kind of open portico to the entrance of the building; and a superb entrance it must have been at that time! The piers are enriched with groupes of small columns supporting arches ornamented with *archivolts* of mouldings enriched with *billeting* [*h*].

[*e*] This stair-case has been taken down to make room for the recent alterations, and although a great part of it was always open to the weather, the hardness of the cement was astonishing; a number of labourers were employed many weeks in demolishing it.

[*f*] Plate XXVI. fig. 1. and the geometrical section fig. 2. of the moulding.

[*g*] Plate XXVI. fig. 6.

[*h*] Fig. 4. The arched mouldings to Bigod's tower.

Fig. 5. Geometrical section of the mouldings.

Having



Having now finished my observations on Norwich castle, I shall proceed to explain the detailed specimens of Saxon and Norman architecture, which I have been able to collect from various buildings. I have added the geometrical plans and the sectional forms of the mouldings; but in many they are perspective applied, to give a better idea of the forms they are intended to represent, by which means the curious may with ease determine (if there be no other data) the Saxon and Norman style from the Roman, the Gothic, or the Saracenic, which latter indeed never occurs in this country [i].

Plate XXVII. fig. 1. is the capital of an octagon pier in the ruins of the old conventual church at Ely, built in the time of the Heptarchy, A. D. 673 [k], and repaired in king Edgar's reign, A. D. 970 [l]. The piers are about two feet four inches in diameter; but as they now form the fronts of some of the prebendal houses, and are walled and plastered between so as to bury five sides of the octagon, the plate shews the remaining three sides only, which the plan applied perspective serves to explain.

Fig 2. The capital of another octagon pier of the same building. This deviates from the last also in having one of its angles next the choir, as is shewn by the plan. The capitals are fifteen inches and a half in depth, exclusive of the necking, seven inches of which are occupied by the abacus or impost.

[i] See Swinburne's Travels in Spain.

[k] Bentham's Ely.

[l] Benedict is said to be the first who brought masons, paynting, and glasing, into this realme to the Saxons, and to have flourished Anno Domini 658.

Stowe's Chronicle, p. 74.

Fig.

Fig. 3 and 4. Two capitals of round piers of two feet four inches diameter. I before observed, that the space between the piers is now enclosed; the segments of the plans are therefore only shewn, as the dark shadow at the bottom of the capital will explain.

Fig. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. other capitals to octangular and circular piers in the same choir. Notwithstanding the same proportions prevail throughout the building, yet the capitals are various, as shewn in plate XXVII.

Fig. 11 and 12, the mouldings and other ornaments to the arches are still more various than the columns: but as a great part of them is also hidden by walls recently built, a small piece of the arches, one of nine inches, and the other of eleven inches in breadth and five inches projection, the sections are perfectly applied.

Fig. 13, 14, and 15, three small capitals to columns of five inches in diameter, whose depth with four inches of abacus is ten inches. They are taken from the ruins of a Saxon church at Dunwich in Suffolk [m], which consists of three divisions, like that at Ely, "not much unlike the primitive Eastern churches, consisting of the sanctuary, the temple, and ante-temple [n].

The whole building is one hundred and seven feet seven inches in length. The nave is 60 feet ten inches in length within, by twenty-four feet six inches in breadth, and was divided from the chancel by an arch. The chancel is twenty-one feet ten inches in length by twenty feet nine inches in breadth, and the sides are ornamented with small intersecting arches of twenty-two inches *radius*, which is peculiar to Saxon and

[m] Gardiner's History of Dunwich, p. 63.

[n] Plate XXVII*. the plan of the church at Dunwich.

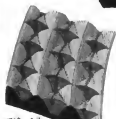
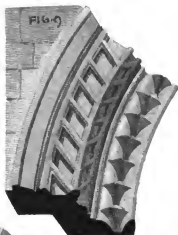
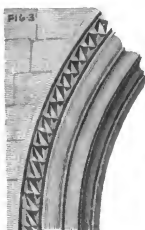
DYNWICH. IN. SUFFOLK.



PLAN OF THE SAXON CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL
OF SAINT JAMES THE APOSTLE.

3

MOULDINGS TO THE ARCHES IN THE OLD CONVENTUAL CHURCH.



SAXON ARCHITECTURE AT ELY.

ARCHES AND PIERS IN THE OLD CHANCEL AT ORFORD

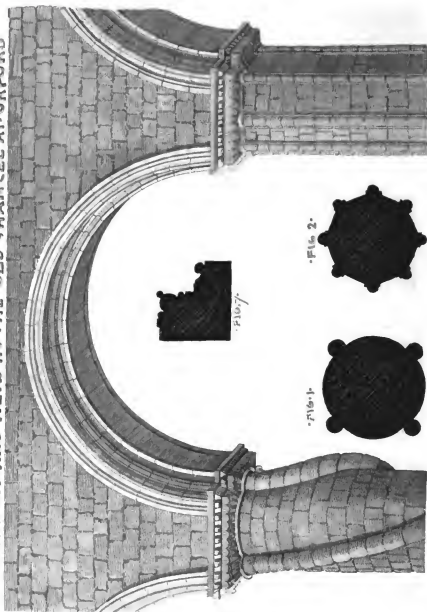


FIG. 2.

FIG. 1.

ARCHES AND PIERS IN THE OLD CHANCEL AT ORFORD.



Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle. 167

Norman architecture. The altar is divided from the chancel by an arch of thirteen feet and a half span, and the plan forms something more than a semi-circle of eighteen feet two inches in diameter. The walls are also ornamented with small arches of two feet six inches in width; but they are not intersecting like those in the chancel part. The capitals fig. 13, 14, and 15, are copied from the altar walls. The historian of Dunwich says, "The hospital to which this church did formerly belong was undoubtedly of great antiquity; for neither history nor ancient records give any light whereby may be discovered either the founder or time of its foundation [o]."

Plate XXVIII. Arches at Ely; fig. 1, the design of one side of one the arches in the conventual church; fig. 2 is the geometrical section, or profile; fig. 3 and 4, another arch with the profile.

Fig. 5 and 6, another ornament on two other arches

Fig. 7, part of an arch with the profile, fig. 8.

Fig. 9, part of an arch with the profile, fig. 10.

Fig. 11, one side of a smaller arch which divided the nave from the chancel, with the section, fig. 12.

Fig. 13, the surrounding ornament to a larger scale.

Fig. 14, the soffit of one of the larger arches.

Plates XXIX. and XXX. represent the RUINED CHAPEL at ORFORD in SUFFOLK.

The arches and piers in this chapel appear to have been built on a similar plan with the church at Ely, and probably about the same date. The mouldings of the arches are alike, although the capitals have some small difference; the forms

of the piers however are extremely different, yet their proportion is the same.

Fig. 1, 2, 3, and 4, are the plans of the piers they are next to, and are three feet three inches diameter, and thirteen feet in height. Fig. 5. is the section of the capitals, fig. 6 the base moulding of the piers, and fig. 7 the profile of the mouldings which form the arches.

Plate XXXI. Specimens of NORMAN architecture.

Fig. 1. An arched entrance to the North aisle of the nave of Peterborough cathedral, with the plan applied perspectivevely.

Fig. 2. A geometrical plan of the jamb and arch mouldings.

Fig. 3. A section of the capitals.

Fig. 4. Capitals in Orford castle in Suffolk, with a perspective plan.

Fig. 5. Profile of capitals.

Plate XXXII. Specimens of Norman architecture of the 11th century.

Fig. 1. Half the design of a range of curious intersected arches over the West entrance of the church at Castle Rising in Norfolk.

Fig. 2, 3, and 4, are some of the capitals on a larger scale; the columns are five and six inches in diameter.

Fig. 5. Capital on the North side of the nave of Norwich cathedral; the columns are six inches in diameter.

Fig. 6. An horizontal blocking in St. Luke's chapel of the same building.

Fig. 7. Part of a string course in Magdalen chapel near Norwich.

Fig. 8. Another within the tower of Attleburgh church, Norfolk.

Fig.

• NORTH • ENTRANCE • TO •
• PETERBOROUGH • CATHEDRAL •

FIG. 3

FIG. 3.

• FIG. 1 •

a foot in diameter

• FIG. 2

FIG. 4.



• NORMAN ARCHITECTURE •

Fig. 9, 10, and 12, Capitals in the nave of Norwich cathedral; columns six inches diameter.

Fig. 11. Another ditto of nine inches diameter.

Fig. 13. Arches in the transept of Norwich cathedral: columns six inches diameter.

Fig. 14. Profile of the arch moulding to ditto, on a larger scale.

Fig. 15. Section of the base mouldings to the same columns.

Fig. 16. An arched entrance on the South side of Nettleton church in Lincolnshire, and the enriched moulding on a larger scale, fig. 17.

Fig. 18. An arch over a door in the transept of Norwich cathedral; the archivolt circumscribes divisions of *reticulata*, where the upper point of every other square recedes from the face of the work. The extent of the arch is nearly five feet, and is encompassed with an ornamented moulding, something like that shewn in N^o 16. An arch like this may be seen in the transept of Peterborough cathedral.

Fig. 19. A section of the arch.

Fig. 20. Intersecting arches peculiar to this style of architecture from St. Luke's chapel in Norwich cathedral. They are within an arch of seven feet one inch diameter. Over them is a cornice composed of *dentated cableing* formed with pieces of *torus* placed upright. The capitals are seven inches and a half deep. The shafts of the columns, which are now gone, were four feet in height from the base. This is another instance of varying the capitals in the same range; the proportions are, notwithstanding, the same.

Fig. 21. The profile of the base 272 inches deep.

Fig. 22. The section of the arch mouldings.

Vol. XII.

Z

Fig.

Fig. 23, Capital to a column, nine inches diameter, in the tower of Attlebury church in Norfolk.

Plate XXXIII. Specimens of Norman architecture.

Fig. 1. An arch to the entrance of St. Botolph's priory [p] at Colchester; the mouldings are worked in stone, and are in good preservation; the angles, which are stained red, are formed with Roman tiles, with which a great part of this curious edifice is built. These tiles are supposed to have been taken from the ruins of some Roman fabric near. The entrance is six feet eight inches in width.

Fig. 2. Geometrical plan, or profile of the mouldings.

Fig. 3. A piece of the *zig-zag* ornament in a larger scale.

Fig. 4. One of the capitals which supports the arch, twelve inches deep.

Fig. 5. A capital to the entrance of Colchester castle, twelve inches deep.

Fig. 6. A leaf of the capital on a larger scale.

Fig. 7. Another capital to the same entrance.

Fig. 8. Part of the arch to ditto.

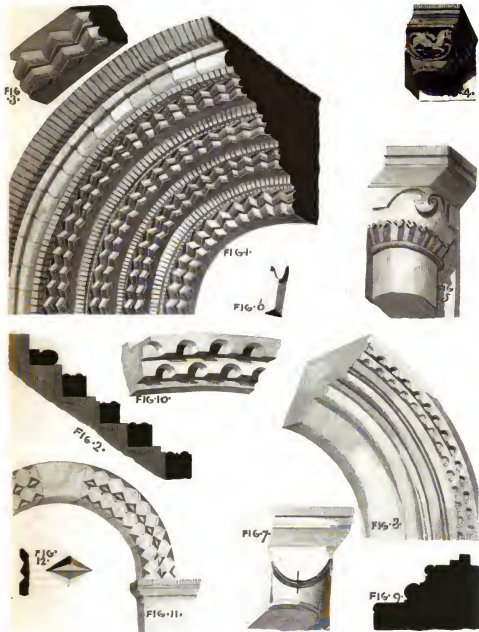
Fig. 9. Profile of the moulding.

Fig. 10. The enriched part of the arch to a larger scale, and the profile perspective applied.

Fig. 11. Arch to the North entrance of Speckfall church in Suffolk, two feet nine inches diameter; impost three inches deep; arch six inches broad.

Fig. 12. one of the lozenge shaped sinkings, and its profile, on a larger scale.

[p] This priory was founded in the beginning of the 12th century,



· NORMAN · ARCHITECTURE ·



FIG. 2.



FIG. 5

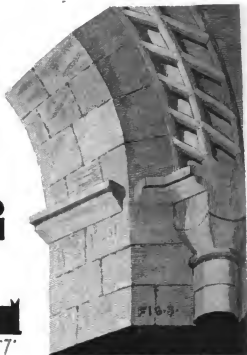


FIG. 7.



FIG. 11



FIG. 6.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 12.



FIG. 13



FIG. 10

FIG. 8.



• NORMAN ARCHITECTURE •

Plate XXXIV. Specimens of Norman architecture.

Fig. 1. Arched mouldings from the ruins of Bingham priory, built by Peter lord Valoins, nephew to William the Conqueror [7].

Fig. 2. Profile of the moulding eight inches wide, with *billet moulding* lying in *cavettos*.

Fig. 3. An arch of eight feet diameter, enriched with *diagonal* or *crossed torus's* of seven inches in length, much like an arch in the ruin at Ely. See Plate XXVIII. fig. 9.

Fig. 4. An arch in the ruins of the transept of the same building, very neatly executed, and surrounded with *zig-zag* of *torus* and *cavetto*, a *billet moulding* encompassing the whole.

Fig. 5. The profile of the moulding, fifteen inches wide, and seven inches and a half projection.

Fig. 6. An ornament to three small arches in the tower of Westall church in Suffolk.

Fig. 7. The profile, four inches wide, and three inches deep.

Fig. 8. Ornament to the arch of the North entrance of Cookley church in Suffolk.

Fig. 9. The section, six inches wide and five inches deep.

Fig. 10. Ornament round the South entrance of Walpole church in Suffolk.

Fig. 11. Section 4 inches wide, and 2 inches and a half deep.

Fig. 12. Capital to the North entrance of Mettingham church in Suffolk, ten inches deep, column six inches diameter.

Fig. 13. Ornament round the arch of the same entrance.

[7] Blomefield, vol. V. p. 787.

Plate XXXV. Specimens of Norman architecture.

Fig. 1, Figure of a bishop with his pastoral staff, over the entrance into the transept of Norwich cathedral. This, it is supposed, is intended for bishop Herbert de Losinga, the founder of the church. It is remarked as a specimen of sculpture of the early Normans [r]. The niche is four feet eleven inches high, and one foot three inches in width; the wreathed columns are four feet six inches high, and six inches in diameter.

Fig. 2 and 3, *Mosaic jambs* to arches in the tower of Westal church in Suffolk; the dark part shews the plan.

Fig. 4, 5, 6, and 7. There is very little variety in the sections of the mouldings for horizontal purposes in this style of architecture. These four figures may be said to comprehend almost all of them. They are used for *imposts* to arches, cornices, *abacus's*, and *bases*, generally plain, but when they are enriched it is after the manner shewn in fig. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, which are impost mouldings to be met with in Herringfleet, Gisleham, and some few other churches in Suffolk.

Fig. 13, A string course on the North side of Binham priory in Norfolk, of ten inches in depth, and to every space of eight inches are the circular projection of four inches and a half in diameter.

Fig. 14, is the profile.

Fig. 15, A horizontal string course to be found in most of our cathedrals and other buildings of early Norman workmanship. It is what is called *hatched* moulding, from appearing as if cut with one stroke of an axe.

[r] Bentham's History of Ely.

NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.



SAXON AND NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

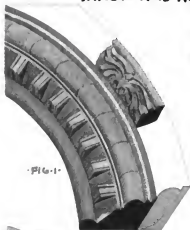


Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 6.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 5.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

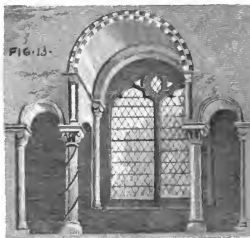


Fig. 13.

Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle. 173

Fig. 16, Another string course formed with *reversed* zig-zag, from the ruins of Wangford priory in Suffolk. This is the only specimen of this kind I ever met with.

Fig. 17. An ornamented *fascia* under the parapet of the North and South sides of Binham priory. When this building was repaired, and the West end newly built, they were so partial to the new Gothic taste, that although they added to the nave of the church also, they neither continued this *fascia* or the original circular headed form of the windows, but made a motly range by adding pointed arches. Indeed the same may be observed in most of our cathedral and conventual buildings.

Fig. 18, Profile of the *fascia* about twelve inches deep.

Fig. 19. Part of the South entrance to Wimboldsham church in Norfolk. The columns seven inches diameter.

Plate XXXVI. Specimens of Saxon and Norman architecture.

Fig. 1. Arch to the entrance of Magdalen chapel, a ruin converted to a barn, in the village of Sprowston near Norwich, built by bishop Herbert in the eleventh century.

Fig. 2, Section of the arch one foot six inches deep, and nine inches projection.

Fig. 3. An arch round another door of the same building.

Fig. 4. Profile of the arch moulding, nine inches and a half deep.

Fig. 5, Work on the chamfered face between the billeting to a larger scale.

Fig. 6, A column of *hatched work* in the upper walk of the North transept of Norwich cathedral. The plan is octagonal, and nine inches in diameter.

Fig. 7, Another column near it of nine inches diameter.

Fig,

Fig. 8, Capital to one of the entrances to Magdalen chapel.

Fig. 9, An arch, formerly an entrance, on the South side of St. Julian's church in Norwich, probably executed before the Conquest, as the church was founded before that time [s]. It is four feet six inches diameter within.

Fig. 10. Section of the arch mouldings, sixteen inches three-eighths wide, and thirteen inches projection.

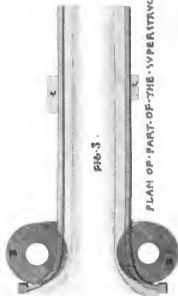
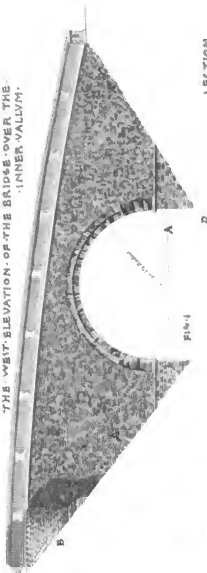
Fig. 11 and 12. Two enrichments of the arch on a larger scale.

Fig. 13. One of the arches, in perspective, in the upper walk of the nave of Norwich castle. The window is pointed, consequently of modern date.

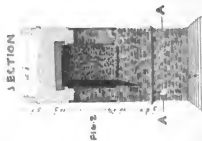
The arch of the Newport gate at Lincoln might at first sight be mistaken for *Saxon* or *Norman*, being evidently much older than the pointed *Gothic*; but its date is decidedly Roman, as appears by the fragment of an impost moulding, which is a *cima recta*; for it is remarkable, as I have before observed in page 160, that neither in the *Saxon* or the *Norman* architecture an instance occurs of the following mouldings, *Cima recta*; *Cima reversa*; *Ovolo*.

It is well known that the dates of ancient MSS. may frequently be ascertained by the form of the letters only, without any reference to the subjects; as if Providence had, doubtless, for wise purposes, been pleased to mark the lapse of ages in peculiar characters. Thus, it seems likewise, that the respective dates of architecture are distinguishable by peculiar characters also; since it is not only by the great contour of the building, the shape of the arch, or the proportion of columns and piers that their dates are ascertainable, but each little fragment of a moulding or vestige of enrichment marks the æra of the structure, and assists the curious investigator in his researches into antiquity.

NORWICH - CASTLE .
THE WEST-ELEVATION-OF-THE BRIDGE-OVER-THE
-INNER-VALLUM-



PLAN OF PART-OF-THE-SUPERSTRUCTURE-



SECTION

To the Rev. Mr. BRAND, Somerset Place, London.

SIR,

Norwich, October 1, 1795.

IN compliance with the request of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, transmitted by your polite letter of the 29th of June last, I have taken the earliest opportunity my avocations would permit, of making the architectural Drawings of the Bridge, and the four elevations of the Keep of Norwich Castle, for the further embellishing the memoir Sir Joseph Banks has done me the honour of submitting to the Society; to which I have added a few more observations that occurred in the course of taking the necessary measures, and which I hope will not be thought irrelative to the subject.

I remain, Sir,

most respectfully,

Your obedient

humble Servant,

WILLIAM WILKINS.

Plate XXXVII. The bridge over the nearer vallum is nearly one hundred and fifty feet in extent, and rises from the inner to the upper ballium sixteen feet. The basement is built with free stone up to the impost moulding, which is also
of

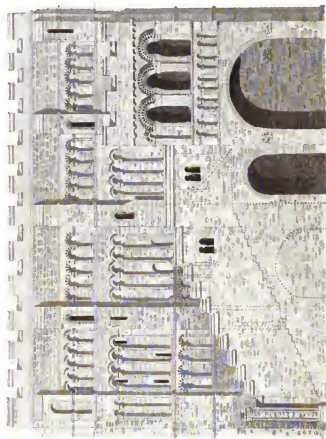
of stone. The arch is likewise formed with two ribs of the same stone of four feet three inches each in thickness, upon which rests the internal soffit of brick work, which is explained by the section fig. 2, where the brick work is shaded darker. The present carriage-way is over this bridge, and is sixteen feet eight inches in width bounded by a parapet on each side of modern construction [a].

The elevation (fig. 1.) of the bridge is at present faced with squared flints, which is of modern execution, and in a dilapidated state. It was most probably originally of the same kind with the basement of the Keep, but wet and frost have subjected it to the necessity of frequent repairs. The dotted lines A A A, fig 1 and 2, shew the line of the fosse in its present state, which has been constantly accumulating, and very much of late, from the rubbish deposited in erecting the addition to the gaol. I therefore caused the earth to be cleared away at D more than ten feet in depth, that I might with accuracy ascertain the height from the base to the impost moulding [b], which is nine feet, where I discovered seven projections which are of faced stone, as are shewn in fig. 1. and fig. 2. and others most probably continue to a much greater depth; but the labour caused by the looseness of the earth, which was incessantly tumbling in as we increased our digging, prevented my further investigation that way. At the North end of the bridge are the remains of two towers
(B B B

[a] Upon the crown of the arch stood an arch of *Gothic* workmanship, as is shewn, I believe, in Buck's views; but, as this was no part of the original building, I shall make no observation upon it.

[b] In my former letter, p. 148, I observed, that the section of the impost moulding was alone sufficient to decide that this bridge was of Saxon or Norman, and not of Roman architecture, and by a similar observation in passing through the city
of

· NORTHWICH CASTLE ·



· EAST ELEVATION ·
· OF THE KEEP ·

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100.

(B B B fig. 1. and fig. 3.), which, as I before observed, were probably united by a portal [c] to the upper ballium.

The projections to the plan at C C fig. 3. are the site of two buttresses which have been added as lateral supports to the bridge, as the walls have been spreading for a long time, and, indeed, the whole is rapidly perishing.

When I understood that the magistrates of Norfolk had determined on a plan which proposed the taking down the stair-case ascending the keep, I made drawings from the East elevation, by which I am able to detail the particulars which are now destroyed; and by means of a dotted line in Plate XXXVIII. have explained the section of the stair-case and the draw-bridge at the entrance of Bigod's portal, which an elevation in the usual way would have concealed. Nearly opposite to the North end, and at a few paces distant from the bridge, the stair-case took place, and ascended along the East front over a draw-bridge to the tower, under which is still the door from the lowest apartment, which Mr. King suggests to have been the sally port. The East elevation exhibits the front richly ornamented with arches as in its former state, yet the uppermost row, which is continued through the South, the West, and the North elevations, is omitted in this; indeed the third row of arches in this front is so much higher than in the others, as not to leave the same space for ornament.

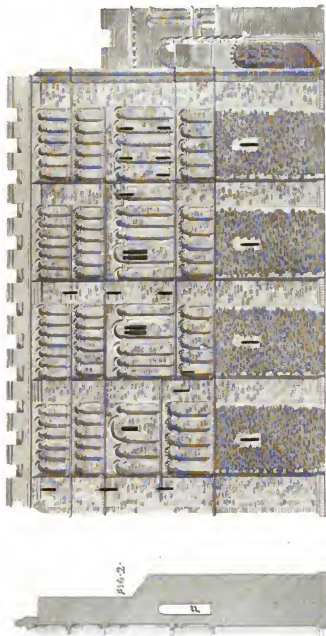
of Lincoln four years since, I accidentally, and without any previous information, determined the gate through which the present turnpike road passes towards Spital to be of Roman workmanship, from which I made a drawing, and presented it to Sir Joseph Banks. I have added another drawing to this collection, as the section of the impost moulding serves also to elucidate the present subject. See Plate XLII.

[c] As there is no appearance of a portcullis to the outlet of the keep, might there not have been one to this portal? or was the portcullis of subsequent invention?

The South elevation (Plate XXXIX.) shews the beginning or front of the stair-case at E; the basement of the whole building is constructed with coarse flint work [d], between the

[d] Flints, which are one of the abundant productions of this county, have not been overlooked by our predecessors in building. We find the substance of all old walls, in this part of the kingdom composed of that material, and with strong-made mortar, which was well incorporated with a large quantity of sand, we find them so cemented as to become one solid mass of stone. The Romans availed themselves of this material; and we find their works in as good, and generally in better, preservation here than in most parts of the kingdom. They not only made the interior substance with coarse flints, but afterwards they faced their work with alternate courses of squared flints, as at Burgh castle (*Carionestum*). This kind of facing after their time became neglected; for the basement of the keep of Norwich castle, although made with flints, and some of them faced, nevertheless they were not squared or laid in regular courses. No material whatever can excel the durability of flints; for we do not find any where an instance of their perishing by frosty or wet weather; and, when squared or laid with care, they are extremely beautiful; in building they have, notwithstanding, but little bond, and depend much upon the mortar cement they are fixed with; for, if wet by any means get behind them, the frost soon levels the work. Many, indeed most, of our churches and public buildings in this county are built almost wholly with this material; but, the most remarkable I have observed, in which flints faced and squared are laid in small regular courses, is the convent gate to Norwich cathedral, which was built in the reign of Edward the First, where the walls to the East and the South have a tracery work formed with free-stone, and the intervals are filled with square flints; and some, about Erpingham's gate, built in penance for Lollardism in the reign of Richard the Second. The chapel of the Virgin Mary on the South side of St. Michael's Coslany church, which is indeed a master-piece (where the stone tracery is so beautifully filled with black flints as to resemble such old cabinets as we sometimes see inlaid with ivory), was built about the year 1500; and a building in St. Andrew's parish, which is recorded as a very rare and beautiful piece of flint work, built in 1403 by William Appleyard, who was the first mayor, and served the office in this house, which was afterwards sold to the corporation, and is the present bridewell. Many country churches have been also built in this way, as at Cromer, &c. in Norfolk, and many in Suffolk and Essex. The art of squaring the flints

NORWICH-CASTLE

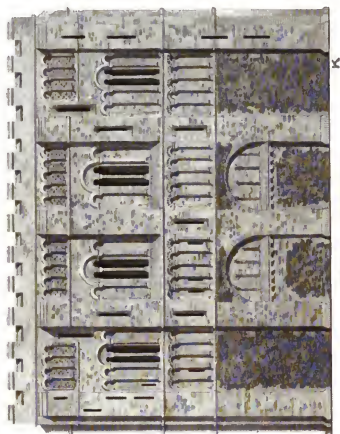


SECTION OF THE
SOUTH-WALL

SOUTH-ELEVATION
OF THE-KEEP



NORWICH CASTLE.

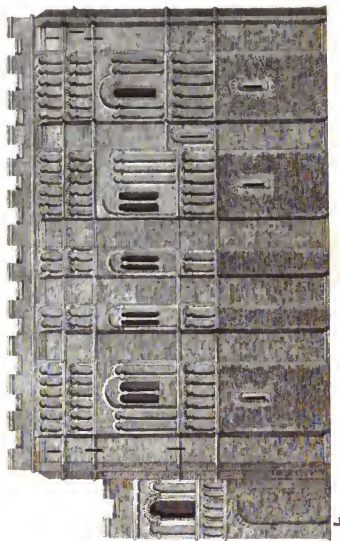


WEST ELEVATION
OF THE KEEP.



SECTION OF THE
WEST WALL.

•NORWICH CASTLE.



•NORTH-ELEVATION.
•OF-THE-KEEP.





THE NEWPORT-GATE AT LINCOLN.



M



FIG. 2.

the buttresses and the appearance of small chinked windows, which were intended for ornament, or deception, for they never could be of real use. Fig. 2. is the section of the South wall, which, for upwards of twenty-five feet in height is eleven feet in thickness; the aperture at F shews a passage communicating with rooms on the first floor, that are now destroyed.

The West elevation (Plate XL.) of the keep is flanked with five buttresses, and shews the two arches, which appear like an original entrance stopped up. These, it was before observed, were probably intended as a deception to an enemy, giving an idea of weakness where the wall is of an extraordinary thickness, as is shewn by the section fig. 2, where the apertures G, H, and I, were small rooms and passages to the stair-cases. A door is shewn in the basement plan at K, but, as it was not originally made there, I have omitted it in this elevation.

The North elevation (Plate XLI.), against which the shire-house abutts, is flanked with six buttresses. L is the North end of Bigod's tower; the embattled termination of the keep is of recent workmanship.

The Newport gate at Lincoln (Plate XLII.) was the North gate of the ancient *Lindum* of the Romans, through which a Roman military way is still obvious for upwards of twelve miles. This, like some of the gates of Rome, consisted of three cima arches. Only two of them are remaining (fig. 1.) built with hard, reddish, squared stones. Those which form the

in this curious manner is now almost totally neglected, though I am convinced it might very soon be brought to perfection again, from the facility I observed the workmen acquire by a little practice in repairing under my superintendence in Bishop Bagot's time a tower belonging to the palace.

arches are wedged, and are of various scantling, two feet in depth, and some of them sixteen inches in width, diminishing towards the centre; and three feet seven inches in length, which forms the breadth of the soffite. The great arch is fifteen feet; and the remaining small one seven feet in diameter. The center arch is still the passage of the great road, which has been necessarily widened (for the convenience of carriages and passengers), from the great accumulation of the earth, which is within four feet of the chord line of the arch. In a field adjoining to the East is yet remaining a large specimen of Roman wall, which from its direction has been evidently continued from the gate. There does not at this time appear to have been any kind of ornament about this edifice, excepting an impost moulding, a small piece of which only remains at M on the South side, sufficient however to determine (if there were any doubts) its being a Roman structure (section fig. 2.); the upper part has been broken off, and might probably be something like the dotted line, but the lower part still retains the perfect profile of the *cima-rella* moulding, which was never used by the Saxon or Norman builders.

XVI. *A short Account of several Gardens near London, with remarks on some particulars wherein they excel, or are deficient, upon a View of them in December 1691. Communicated to the Society by the Reverend Dr. Hamilton, Vice President, from an original Manuscript in his possession.*

Read July 3, 1794.

1. **H**AMPTON COURT Garden is a large plat, environed with an iron palisade round about next the park, laid all in walks, grass plats, and borders. Next to the house, some flat and broad beds are set with narrow rows of dwarf box, in figures like lace-patterns. In one of the lesser gardens is a large green house divided into several rooms, and all of them with stoves under them, and fire to keep a continual heat. In these there are no orange or lemon trees, or myrtles, or any greens, but such tender foreign ones that need continual warmth.

2. *Kensington* Gardens are not great nor abounding with fine plants. The orange, lemon, myrtles, and what other trees they had there in summer, were all removed to Mr. London's and Mr. Wise's greenhouse at Brompton Park, a little mile from them. But the walks and grass laid very fine, and they were

were digging up a flat of four or five acres to enlarge their garden.

3. *The Queen Dowager's Garden*, at *HammerSmith*, has a good greenhouse, with a high erected front to the South, whence the roof falls backward. The house is well stored with greens of common kinds; but the Queen not being for curious plants or flowers, they want of the most curious sorts of greens, and in the garden there is little of value but wall trees; though the gardener there, *Monfieur Hermon Van Guine*, is a man of great skill and industry, having raised great numbers of orange and lemon trees by inoculation, with myrtles, Roman bayes, and other greens of pretty shapcs, which he has to dispose of.

4. *Beddington Garden*, at present in the hands of the duke of Norfolk, but belonging to the family of Carew, has in it the best orangery in England. The orange and lemon trees there grow in the ground, and have done so near one hundred years, as the gardener, an aged man, said he believed. There are a great number of them, the house wherein they are being above two hundred feet long; they are most of them thirteen feet high, and very full of fruit, the gardener not having taken off so many flowers this last summer as usually others do. He said, he gathered off them at least ten thousand oranges this last year. The heir of the family being but about five years of age, the trustees take care of the orangery, and this year they built a new house over them. There are some myrtles growing among them, but they look not well for want of trimming. The rest of the garden is all out of order, the orangery being the gardener's chief care; but it is capable of being made one of the best gardens in England,

England, the soil being very agreeable, and a clear silver stream running through it.

5. *Chelfea Physick* Garden has great variety of plants, both in and out of greenhouses. Their perennial green hedges and rows of different coloured herbs are very pretty, and so are their banks set with shades of herbs in the Irish stich-way, but many plants of the garden were not in so good order as might be expected, and as would have been answerable to other things in it. After I had been there, I heard that Mr. Watts, the keeper of it, was blamed for his neglect, and that he would be removed.

6. My Lord *Ranelagh's* Garden being but lately made, the plants are but small, but the plats, borders, and walks, are curiously kept, and elegantly designed, having the advantage of opening into Chelfea college walks. The kitchen garden there lies very fine, with walks and seats, one of which, being large and covered, was then under the hands of a curious painter. The house there is very fine within, all the rooms being wainscoted with Norway oak, and all the chimneys adorned with carving, as in the council-chamber in Chelfea college.

7. *Arlington* Garden, being now in the hands of my lord of Devonshire, is a fair plat, with good walks, both airy and shady. There are six of the greatest earthen pots that are any where else, being at least two feet over within the edge; but they stand abroad, and have nothing in them but the tree holy-oke, an indifferent plant, which grows well enough in the ground. Their greenhouse is very well, and their green-yard excels; but their greens were not so bright and clean as farther off in the country, as if they suffered something from the smutty air of the town.

8. My

8 My Lord *Fauconbergh's* Garden, at *Sutton Court*, has several pleasant walks and apartments in it; but the upper garden next the house is too irregular, and the bowling green too little to be commended. The greenhouse is very well made, but ill set. It is divided into three rooms, and very well furnished with good greens; but it is so placed, that the sun shines not on the plants in winter, where they most need its beams, the dwelling-house standing betwixt the sun and it. The maze or wilderness there is very pretty, being set all with greens, with a cypress arbour in the middle, supported with a well-wrought timber frame; of late it grows thin at the bottom, by their letting the fir trees grow without their reach unclipped. The enclosure wired-in for white pheasants and partridges is a fine apartment, especially in summer, when the bones of Italian bayes are set out, and the timber walk with vines on the side is very fine when the blew pots are on the pedestals on the top of it, and so is the fish-pond with the greens at the head of it.

9. Sir *William Temple*, being lately gone to live at his house in *Farneham*, his garden and greenhouse at *West Sheene*, where he has lived of late years, are not so well kept as they have been, many of his orange trees, and other greens, being given to Sir John Temple, his brother, at *East Sheene*, and other gentlemen; but his greens that are remaining (being as good a stock as most greenhouses have) are very fresh and thriving, the room they stand in suiting well with them and being well contrived, if it be no defect in it that the floor is a foot at least within the ground, as is also the floor of the dwelling house. He had attempted to have orange trees to grow in the ground (as at *Beddington*), and for that purpose had enclosed a square of ten feet wide, with a low brick wall, and

and sheltered them with wood, but they would not do. His orange trees in summer stand not in any particular square or enclosure, under some shelter, as most others do, but are disposed on pedestals of Portland stone, at equal distance, on a board over against a South wall, where is his best fruit, and fairest walk.

10. Sir *Henry Capell's* garden at *Kew* has as curious greens, and is as well kept as any about London. His two lentiscus trees (for which he paid forty pounds to *Verfpriet*) are said to be the best in England, not only of their kind, but of greens. He has four white striped hollies, about four feet above their cases, kept round and regular, which cost him five pounds a tree this last year, and six *laurustinuses* he has, with large round equal heads, which are very flowery and make a fine shew. His orange trees and other choicer greens stand out in summer in two walks about fourteen feet wide, enclosed with a timber frame about seven feet high, and set with silver firs hedge-wise, which are as high as the frame, and this to secure them from wind and tempest, and sometimes from the scorching sun. His terrace walk, bare in the middle, and grafts on either side, with a hedge of rue on one side next a low wall, and a row of dwarf trees on the other, shews very fine, and so do from thence his yew hedges with trees of the same at equal distance, kept in pretty shapes with tonsure. His flowers and fruits are of the best, for the advantage of which two parallel walls, about fourteen feet high, were now raised and almost finished. If the ground were not a little irregular, it would excel in other points, as well as in furniture.

11. Sir *Stephen Fox's* garden at *Chiswick* being but of five years standing, is brought to great perfection for the time.

It excels for a fair gravel walk betwixt two yew hedges, with rounds and spires of the same, all under smooth tuncure. At the far end of this garden are two myrtle hedges that cross the garden; they are about three feet high, and covered in winter with painted board cases. The other gardens are full of flowers and salleting, and the walls well clad. The greenhouse is well built, well set, and well furnished.

12. Sir *Thomas Cooke's* garden at *Hackney* is very large, and not so fine at present, because of his intending to be at three thousand pounds charge with it this next summer, as his gardener said. There are two greenhouses in it, but the greens are not extraordinary, for one of the roofs being made a receptacle for water, overcharged with weight, fell down last year upon the greens, and made a great destruction among the trees and pots. In one part of it is a warren, containing about two acres, very full of coney, though there was but a couple put in a few years since. There is a pond or a mote round about them, and on the outside of that a brick wall four feet high, both which I think will not keep them within their compass. There is a large fish-pond lying on the South to a brick wall, which is finely clad with philaria. Water brought from far in pipes furnishes his several ponds as they want it.

13. Sir *Josiah Child's* plantations of walnut and other trees at *Wansford* are much more worth seeing than his gardens, which are but indifferent. Besides, the great number of fruit trees he has planted in his enclosures with great regularity, he has vast number of elms, ashes, limes, &c. planted in rows on Epping forest. Before his outgate, which is above twelve score distance from his house, are two large fish-ponds on the forest, in the way from his house, with trees
on

on either side lying betwixt them; in the middle of either pond is an island betwixt twenty and thirty yards over, and in the middle of each a house, the one like the other. They are said to be well stocked with fish, and so they had need to be if they cost him five thousand pounds, as it is said they did; as also that his plantations cost twice as much.

14. Sir *Robert Clayton* has great plantations at *Marden* in *Surrey*, in a soil not very benign to plants, but with great charge he forces Nature to obey him. His gardens are big enough, but strangely irregular, his chief walk not being level, but rising in the middle and falling much more at one end than the other; neither is the wall carried by a line either on the top or sides, but runs like an ordinary park wall, built as the ground goes. He built a good greenhouse, but set it so that the hills in winter keep the sun from it, so that they place their greens in a house on higher ground not built for that purpose. His dwelling house stands very low, surrounded with great hills; and yet they have no water but what is forced from a deep well into a waterhouse, whence they are furnished by pipes at pleasure.

15. The Archbishop of *Canterbury's* garden at *Lambeth* has little in it but walks, the late archbishop not delighting in one, but they are now making them better; and they have already made a greenhouse, one of the finest and costliest about the town. It is of three rooms, the middle having a stove under it; the foresides of the rooms are almost all glass, the roof covered with lead, the whole part (to adorn the building) rising gavel-wise higher than the rest; but it is placed so near *Lambeth church*, that the sun shines most on it in winter after eleven o'clock; a fault owned by the gardener, but not thought on by the contrivers. Most of the

greens are oranges and lemons, which have very large ripe fruit on them.

16. Dr. *Uvedale* of *Enfield* is a great lover of plants, and having an extraordinary art in managing them, is become master of the greatest and choicest collection of exotic greens that is perhaps any where in this land. His greens take up six or seven houses or roomsteads. His orange trees and largest myrtles fill up his biggest house, and another house is filled with myrtles of a less size, and these more nice and curious plants, that need closer keeping are in warmer rooms, and some of them stoved when he thinks fit. His flowers are choice, his stock numerous, and his culture of them very methodical and curious; but, to speak of the garden in the whole, it does not lie fine to please the eye, his delight and care lying more in the ordering particular plants, than in the pleasing view and form of his garden.

17. Dr. *Tillotson's* garden near *Enfield* is a pleasurable place for walks, and some good walls there are too; but the tall aspen trees, and the many ponds in the heart of it, are not so agreeable. He has two houses for greens, but had few in them, all the best being removed to Lambeth. The house is moated about.

18. Mr. *Evelyn* has a pleasant villa at *Deptford*, a fine garden for walks and hedges (especially his holly one, which he writes of in his *Sylva*), and a pretty little greenhouse, with an indifferent stock in it. In his garden he has four large round philareas, smooth clipped, raised on a single stalk from the ground, a fashion now much used. Part of his garden is very woody and shady for walking; but his garden, not being walled, has little of the best fruits.

19. Mr. *Watts's* house and garden made near *Endfield* are new; but the garden for the time is very fine, and large and regularly laid out, with a fair fish-pond in the middle. He built a greenhouse this summer with three rooms (somewhat like the archbishop of Canterbury's) the middle with a stove under it, and a sky-light above, and both of them of glass on the fore-side, with shutters within, and the roof finely covered with Irish slate. But this fine house is under the same great fault with three before (Numbers 8, 14, 15.): they built it in summer, and thought not of winter; the dwelling house on the South side interposing betwixt the sun and it now when its beams should refresh plants.

20. *Brompton Park* garden, belonging to Mr. *London* and Mr. *Wife*, has a large long greenhouse, the front all glass and board, the North side brick. Here the King's greens, which were in summer at Kensington, are placed, but they take but little room in comparison of their own. Their garden is chiefly a nursery for all sorts of plants, of which they are very full.

21. Mr. *Raynton's* garden at *Endfield* is observable for nothing but his greenhouse, which he has had for many years. His orange, lemon, and myrtle trees, are as full and furnished as any in cases. He has a myrtle cut in shape of a chaire, that is at least six feet high from the case, but the lower part is thin of leaves. The rest of the garden is very ordinary, and on the outside of his garden he has a warren, which makes the ground about his seat lye rudely, and sometimes the coney's work under the wall into the garden.

22. Mr. *Richardson* at *East Barnet* has a pretty garden, with fine walks and good flowers; but the garden not being walled about they have less summer fruit, yet are, therefore, the

the more industrious in managing the peach and apricot dwarf standards, which, they say, supply them plentifully with very good fruit. There is a good fish-pond in the middle of it, from which a broad gravel walk leads to the highway, where a fair pair of broad gates, with a narrower on either side, open at the top to look through small bars, well wrought and well painted, are a great ornament to the garden. They have orange and lemon trees; but the wife and son being the managers of the garden (the husband being gouty and not minding it), they cannot prevail for a house for them other than a barn end.

23. Captain *Foster's* garden at *Lambeth* has many curiosities in it. His greenhouse is full of fresh and flourishing plants, and before it is the finest striped holly hedge that perhaps is in England. He has many myrtles, not the greatest, but of the most fanciful shapes that are any where else. He has a framed walk of timber covered with vines, which, with others, running on most of his walls without prejudice to his lower trees, yield him a deal of wine. Of flowers he has good choice, and his Virginia and other birds in a great variety, with his glass hive, add much to the pleasure of his garden.

24. Monsieur *Anthony Vesprit* has a little garden of very choice things. His greenhouse has no very great number of plants, but what he has are of the best sort, and very well ordered. His oranges and lemons (fruit and tree) are extraordinary fair, and for lentiscus's and Roman bayes he has choice above others.

25. *Ricketts*, at *Hoxton*, has a large ground, and abundantly stocked with all manner of flowers, fruit-trees, and
other

other garden plants, with lime trees, which are now much planted; and, for a sale garden, he has a very good greenhouse, and well filled with fresh greens, besides which he has another room very full of greens in pots. He has a greater stock of Assyrian thyme than any body else; for, besides many pots of it, he has beds abroad, with plenty of roots, which they cover with mats and straw in winter. He sells his things with the dearest, and, not taking due care to have his plants prove well, he is supposed to have lost much of his custom.

26. *Pearson* has not near so large a ground as *Rickets* (on whom he almost joins), and therefore he has not so many trees, but of flowers he has great choice, and of anemonies he avers he has the best about London, and sells them only to gentlemen. He has no greenhouse, yet has abundance of myrtles and striped philarcas, with oranges and other greens, which he keeps safe enough under sheds, sunk a foot within ground, and covered with straw. He has abundance of cyresses, which, at three feet high, he sells for four pence apiece to those that take any number. He is moderate in his prices, and accounted very honest in his dealing, which gets him much chapmanry.

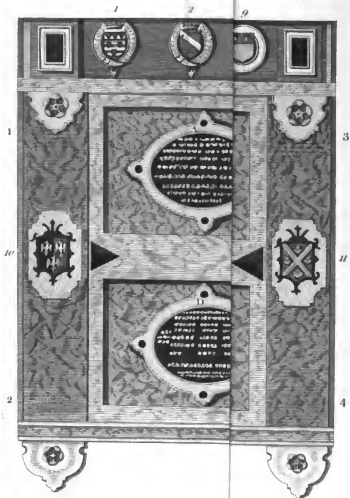
27. *Darby*, at *Hoxton*, has but a little garden, but is master of several curious greens that other sale-gardeners want, and which he saves from cold and winter weather in greenhouses of his own making. His *Fritalaria Crassa* (a green) had a flower on it of the breadth of a half crown, like an embroidered star, of several colours; I saw not the like any where, no, not at *Dr. Uvedale's*, though he has the same plant. He raises many striped hollies by inoculation, though *Captain Foster* grafts them as we do apple trees. He is very curious
in.

in propagating greens, but is dear with them. He has a folio paper book in which he has pasted the leaves and flowers of almost all manner of plants, which make a pretty shew, and are more instructive than any cuts in herbals.

28. *Clements*, at *Mile-end*, has no bigger a garden than *Darby*, but has more greens, yet not of such curious sorts. He keeps them in a greenhouse made with a light charge. He has vines in many places about old trees, which they wind about. He made wine this year of his white Muscadine, and white Frontinac, better I thought than any French white wine. He keeps a thop of seeds in plants in pots next the street.

Jan. 26, 1691.

J. GIBSON.



XVII. *An Inscription in the Tower of London. Communicated by George Naylor, Esq. York Herald, F. A. S. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read November 5, 1795.

College of Arms, London, June 24, 1795.

REV. SIR,

I Will thank you to present to the Society of Antiquaries a drawing and explanation of a marble monument or tablet fixed in a wall on the North-west side of the Tower of London, and in the apartments of the Deputy Lieutenant, called the *Council Chamber*. It was erected, as appears from the inscription, by Sir William Wade, knight, Lieutenant of the Tower in the year 1608, evidently with a view of perpetuating the infamy of the conspirators concerned in the Gunpowder plot. It is composed of marbles of several colours; see the annexed plate *, in which the different inscriptions are slightly sketched, and referred to by the letters A. B. C. D. E. and figures 1. 2. 3. 4. in the following pages.

It is situated near the fire-place, about four feet from the floor, and is inclosed by a pair of folding doors that cover

* Plate XLIV.

the whole completely, to which it is probable we may attribute the good preservation in which we find it, notwithstanding the lapse of one hundred and eighty-seven years. This circumstance, perhaps, is rendered somewhat dubious by a remark of that venerable Antiquary *Stow*, who, in his *Survey of London* *, says, "In an upper chamber in the Lieutenant's lodgings is an ingenious device to describe the Gunpowder Treason Plot, set up about that time by Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower; the monument consisteth of several pieces of marble, in fashion round, inlaid with inscriptions on them; in the middle whereof is a larger stone, on the extremities several coats of arms of the chief nobility, as of Howard, Cecil, &c. "It is *scarcely legible*, the description being almost worn out." But notwithstanding this, after a very close examination, I have not been able to discover the least appearance of its having been retouched or repaired. As the drawing and inscription sufficiently explain every circumstance relative to this singular monument, I shall not trouble you farther than to observe, that of the nine coats of arms ranged in a line on the upper part of the tablet, eight belong to knights of the garter, whose names are severally specified in the description annexed, and who were the commissioners appointed to try the conspirators. The ninth and last is the coat of the lord chief justice Sir John Popham, knight.

I remain, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Rev. Mr. Brand,
Somerſet Place.

G E O R G E N A Y L E R.

* *Stow's Survey of London.* Edit. 1720, vol. I. p. 75.

A.

Jacobus magnus Magnæ Britannię Rex, pietate, justicia, prudentia, doctrina, fortitudine, clementia, ceterisq. virtutibus regiis clariss; Christianę fidei, salutis publicę, pacis universalis propugnator, fantor, auctor acerrimus, augustiss, auspiciatiss. Anna Regina, Frederici 2. Danorum regis invictiss filia sereniss. Henricus Princeps, naturę ornamentis, doctrinę pręfidiis, gratię muneribus instructiss; nobis & natus, & a Deo datus. Carolus Dux Eboracensis divina ad omnem virtutem indole. Elizabetha utriusq. foror germana, utroque parente dignissima. Hos, velut pupillam oculi tenellam providus muni, procul impiorum impetu alarum tuarum intrepidus conde sub umbra.

B.

Robertus Cicill comes Salisburienſis, ſumus & Regis Secretarius & Anglię Theſaurarius, clariss. patris & de reſpub. meritiſſimi filius, in paterna munera ſucceſſor longe digniſſimus. Henricus comes Northamptonię, quinq. portũ præfectus, & privati ſigilli cuſtos, diſertorum litteratiſſimus, litteratorum diſertiſſimus. Carolus comes Nottingamię, magnus Anglię admirallius victorioſus. Thomas Suffolcię comes, regis camerarius ſplendidiſſimus, tres viri nobiliſſimi ex antiqua Howardorũ familia ducumq. Norfolcię proſapia. Ed-

wardus Somersetus comes Wigorniae, equis regiis praefectus ornatissimus. Carolus Blunt comes Devoniae, Hyberniae prorex & pacificator. Joannes Areskinus illustris Marriae comes, praecipuarum in Scotia arcium praefectus, Georgius Humius Dumbari comes, Scotiae thesaurarius prudentissimus. Omnes illustrissimi Ordinis Garterii milites. Joannes Popham, miles, Justiciarius Angliae capitalis, juris & justitiae consultissimus.

C.

Deo Opt. Max. Triuno Sospitatori, et tantæ, tam atrocis tamque incredibilis in Regem clementiss*, in Reginam ferreniss*, in divinæ indolis & optimæ spei Principem, cæteramq; progeniam regiam, & in omnem omnium ordinum, & nobilitatis antiquæ & fortitudinis avitæ & pietatis castissimæ & Justitiæ sanctissimæ florem præcipuum, conjurationis exequendæ nitrosi pulveris subiecti inflammatione, Christianæ veræq; religionis extinguendæ furiosa libidine & regni stirpitus evertendi nefaria cupiditate, a Jesuitis Romanensibus, perfidiæ Catholicæ et impietatis viperinæ autoribus et assertoribus, aliisque ejusdem amentia scelerisque patratoribus et sociis susceptæ, et in ipso pestis derepente inferendæ articulo (Salutis anno 1605, mensis Novembris die quinto) tam præter spem, quam supra fidem mirifice et divinitus detectæ, averrunco, et vindici, grates quantas animi capere possent maximas et immortales a nobis omnibus, et posteris nostris haberi et agi Guilielmus

lielmus Waade, miles, Turri a Domino Rege præfectus, posito
perpetuo hoc Monumento voluit. Die nono mensis Octob.
Anno Regni Jacobi prime * sexto, Anno D'ni 1608.

(The Cypher of William Wade.)

D.

Conjuratorum nomina, ad perpetuam ipsorum infamiam
et tantæ diritatis detestationem sempiternam.

Monachi salutare Jesu nomen emen- titi.		Thomas Winter	Thomas Percy
		Robert Winter	Robert Catesby
	Henry Garnet	John Winter	John Wright
	John Gerrard	Guy Fawkes	Christopher Wright
	Oswald Tefond	Thomas Bates	Francis Tresham
	Edward Hall	Everard Digby, K'	Tho'as Abington
	Hamō	Am. Rookewood	Edmo'd Baineham, K'
	Baldwī	John Graunt	Wil ^e Stanley, K'
		Robert Keyes	Hughe Owen
		Henry Morgā.	

מגלה עקבותי מניחשך ויצא לאור עלמית:

Pandit, et in lucem profert de nocte profunda
Terra immerfa alte et fati caligine cœca.

E.

Hi omnes illustriss^{mi} viri, quorum nomina ad sempiternam
eorum memoriam posteritati consecrandam proxime supra
ad lineam posita sunt, ut Regi a consiliis, ita ab eo delegati

* Sic.

quæ-

quæstiores, reis singulis incredibili diligentia ac cura sæpius appellatis, nec minore solertia & dexteritate percontatis eorum animis, eos, suis ipsorum inter se collatis responsionibus convictos, ad voluntariam confessionem adegerunt & latentem nefariæ conjurationis feriem, remq. omnem, ut hactenus gesta, & porro per eos gerenda esset, summa fide erutam, æterna cum laude sua, in lucem produxerunt, adeo ut divina singulari providentiâ effectum sit, ut tam præsens, tamq. fœda tempestas a Regia Majestate, liberisq. regiis & omni regno depulsa, in ipsos autores eorumq. socios redundarit.

-
1. Inclite Rex tu es Vinculum per quod Resp. cohæret ;
 Tu spiritus Vitalis quem tot millia trahunt.
 Nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi onus et preda,
 Si mens illa Imperii subtrahatur.
 2. Rex, Regina, pius Princeps regni, omnis & ordo
 Destinata truci præda voranda rogo.
 Vipereo a genere & graviter spirantib' hydriis
 Virus Jesuadum de feritate lupæ.
 Spemq; fidemq; supra eripitur divinitus, Ergo
 Ordo habeat grates omnis atque Deo.
 3. In nos, sancte Parens, quot vigilantie
 Et quam mira tuæ pignora suppetunt ?
 Que nec mens acie cernere languida
 Possit, nec numero lingua retexere.

4. Cuf-

4. Custodis Custos sum, Carcer Carceris, Arcis
Arx, atque Argu' Argus; sum Speculæ Specula,
Sum Vinculum * inclis, Compes cum compede Clavū
Firmo hærens teneo tentus habens habeor.
Dum Regi Regnoque salus stet firma quieta
Splendida sim Compes Compedis usque licet.
-

On the Cornice of the Tablet are the Arms of

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, | } Knights of the
Most Noble Order
of the Garter. |
| 2 Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, | |
| 3 Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, | |
| 4 Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, | |
| 5 Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, | |
| 6 Charles Blunt, Earl of Devon, | |
| 7 John Areskin or Ereskin, Earl of Marr, | |
| 8 George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, | |
- 9 Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice.
10 Sir Edward Coke, Knight, then Attorney-General.
11 Sir William Wade, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower.
12 Ditto, quartering: 2. Gules, a chevron between three
boars heads couped, Argent; 3. Gules, three garbs, Or;
4. Or, two bars Azure in chief three water bugetts, Gules.

* Sic, pro vincilis.

Copy of the Letter to the Lord Mounteagle, which occasioned the Discovery of the Gunpowder plot; with an engraved *Fac Simile* *.

Read June 2, 1796.

“ My lord, out of the love I beare to some of youre frends, i have a caer of your preservation. Therfor I would advyse yowe, as yowe tender your lyf, to devyse some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parleament, for God and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme, and thinke not slightelye of this advertisment, but retyere youre selfe into youre contri, where yowe maye expect the event in fasti, for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a teribel blowe this parleament, and yet they shall not sei who hurts them. This coun- cel is not to be contenned, because it maye do yowe good, and can do yowe no harme, for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter, and i hope God will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it. To whose holy proteccion i comend yowe.”

Inscribed on the back,

“ To the ryght honorable
The lord Mow'teagle.”

King James, in his speech to the parliament, November 9, 1605 (printed in the Journals of the House of Lords, vol. II. p. 358.), gives the following account of the discovery of the gunpowder plot, *viz.*

“ The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you

* Communicated by John Topham, esq.

were

my lord out of the love i beare ~~you~~ To some of youere friends
 i have a cuer of youer preseruation therfor i woulde
 aduise youe as you be tender vover lyf to deny some
 excuse to shift of youer attendance at This parliament
 for god and man halhe concurred to punish the wickednes
 of This tyme and thinke not slightely of this aduertisement
 but rether youre self into youre contri wheare youe
 may expect the cruel In sathi for Elowyshe there be no
 apparance of amiti for yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible
 blowe This parliament and yet they shall not scie who
 hmrts them This conuener is not to be continued because
 it maye do youe good and can do youe no harme for the
 dangere is passed as soon as youe have burnt the Letter
 and i hope god will give youe The grace to make good
 use of it to whose holy protection i comend youe

Inscribed on the back

To the right Honorable
 The Lord mountaigle

The Letter to Lord. Mountaigle which occasioned the discovery of the Gunpowder plot.

were as well acquainted with my natural disposition as those are who be near about me. For, as I ever did hold suspicion to be the sickness of a tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements or apprehensions of practices; and yet now at this time I was so far contrary to myself, as when the letter was shewed to me by my secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them (and in another sort than, I am sure, any divine or lawyer in any university would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by powder: and thereupon ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended; whereas, if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

“And in that also there was a wonderful providence of God, that when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, having his fire-work for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith, as he confesseth, if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the house, he was resolved to have blown himself up with his takers.”

Relation of the Discovery of the Gunpowder under the
Parliament House.

This Relation is preserved in his Majesty's Paper Office, and
is corrected in the Hand Writing of the Earl of Salisbury,
then Secretary of State.

Read June 2, 1796.

" Before the King's Ma^y comming from Royston, there was
a letter delivered to the lo: Mounteagle's footman, as he
passed in the streete towards night, directed to his lord, by a
partye unknowne, written in a hand *disguised*, wthout date or
name; whereof these were the contents:

" My lord, out of the love I beare to some of yo^r friends,
&c."

As soone as he had read it, and observed the same, he re-
solved in his Ma^y absence, to impart it to some of his M^{ty}
Privy Councill, not so much in respect of any great credit
his l^p gave to the letter, as because he tooke himself bound
in duty to make all things any way concerning the King's
person or state, in honor or safety, knowne to his M^y, either
by himself immediately, or by some of those to whom the
consideration thereof did more properly belong; for which
purpose he repaired to Whitehall to the earle of Salisbury,
his Ma^y's principal secretary, whom he found in the company
of the lo: admirall, the erle of Suffolke, erle of Worcester,
and erle of Northampton, ready to go to supper, and there
drew

drewe the erle of Salisb. aſyde into another chamber, and imparted to him the letter, and in what manner he received it, uſing onely theſe woords, that although he would not take upon him to urge the importance of this advertiſement, more or leſſe, but rather leave the judgement to his Ma^y. and thoſe with whom he did uſe to communicate his affairs; yet he would do himſelf ſo much right as to proteſt, that he had no other intention of ſhewing this l^re wrytten in ſuch a falſhon, but onely to manifeſt his love and duty to his Ma^y perſon and ſtate, more deare to him than his lyfe, and wherein (howſoever others may go before him in power) yett in true faith and zeale he would never be found ſecond to any. As ſoone as the erle had read the letter, he made him anſwere that he had done like a diſcrete nobleman, not to conceale a matter of ſuch nature, whatſoever the conſequences might prove; becauſe oftentimes ſuch looſe advertiſements have growndes unfitt to be neglected, though the qualitie of the informer, or y^e ſudden apprehenſion of great and terrible things, may make them be delivered in ſuch a ſtile, or ſuch a manner, as may blemiſh the creditt of the overture: adding thus much further, that in reſpect he had always found his l^p full of duty and love to his M^y and the eſtate, he would confeſſe thus much unto him, as an argument y^e ſome practice might be doubted y^e he had any time theſe three moneths acquainted the K. and ſome of his Ma^y inward counſellers that the prieſts, and lay men abroad and at home, were full of the papiſts of this kingdome, ſeeking ſtill to lay ſome plott, for procuring at this parlement exerciſe of their religion; for which they had it in conſultation, under colour of delivering a petition to his Ma^y, to appear in ſome ſuch generall combination, as the K. and ſtate ſhould be loath to denye their

overtures. And so the erle concluded, that the matter was worthy consideration, and that he would communicate this presently with some of my lords (his Ma^y being not come to London), to which the lord Mounteagle willingly assented; intreating him also so to use it, as he for his extraordinary affection might not be taxed of humor or levity for his discovery, howsoever the matter should prove hereafter.

Whereunto the earle of Salisbury replied, that he would therein be his warrant: and so immediately the erle of Salisbury first intreated the erle of Suffolke to come into an inner room, there they three only perused the l^re againe, and observing still that the words prefaged some desperate and fodaine practise against the K. and the whole state, and that the party was so carefull to procure the lo: Mounteagle to be absent from the Parlement House, they apprehended, that forasmuch as could be collected by the words, no other sense could be gathered, then of some resolution to attempt upon the K. and all that were in the Parlement House. Whereupon the lord chamberlane, who hath the care of all the places where his Ma^y is to come or remaine, either in publique or private forme, instantly remembered, that there were diverse houses and roomes near adjoyning to the Chamber of Parlement in which he had never bene, and therefore agreed that he would take some particular care of that point. And so presently after the lord Mounteagle was gone, the Lo: Admiral, earles of Worcester and Northampton, were all made privy to the letter, and the manner of delivery, who fell all upon the same consideration and resolution, that the lo: chamberlane should take care to visit all those places, but not before the session, both because it might appeare whether any other nobleman should receyve the like advertisement,

2

which

which would make the matter of more regard ; and because any such as had such practise in hand might not be scarred before they had let the matter runne on to a full ripenesse for discovery, considering how apt the world is now a dayes to think all Providence and intelligences to be but practises.

Some three dayes after his Ma^y returned from Royston (being the 31st of October), to whom the erle of Salisbury first shewed the letter privately, the Lord Chamberlane being hard by in the gallery. Whereupon the K. called him to it, at which time no one of them delivered any opinion to the King, as of a matter likely to prove materiall, but onely attended to heare his Ma^y owne conceyte, whom they find in all such occasions not only endued with the most admirable gifts of piercing concept, and a solide judgement that ever was heard of in any age ; but accompanied also with a kind of divine power in judging of the nature and consequence of such advertisements, wherein his own great experience and successe have appeared in matters of highest importance.

When his Ma^y had redd the letter (although nothing is so contrary to his nature, as to apprehend idle jealousies, or wayne tayles, but still to relye upon those inward and judiciall growndes, from which all his resolutions and directions do proceed), he onely made this short replye, that although the incertainty of the writer, and generality of the advertisement, besides the small likelyhood of any such conspiracy to be attempted upon the generall body of any realme compounded of such a nobility, gentry, and commonalty, as this was, gave him the lesse cause to apprehend it as a thing certaine to be putt in execution, considering that all conspiracies commonly distinguish of men and persons ; yet, seeing the words did rather seeme (as far as they were to be regarded) to pre-

sage danger to the whole Court of Parlement, over whom his care was greater than over his owne lyfe, and because the woords discribed such a forme of doing as could be no other-wise interpreted then by some stratageme of fire and powder, he wished that there might be especial consideration hadd of the nature of all places yielding commodity for those kynds of attempts; and there, as he should be informed of all particulars, he would deliver his further pleasure and direction how the matter should be carried; in the mean time, he said, the lord Mounteagle had not deceyved his expectation, in yielding him this tryall of his love and duty towards himself and his countrey.

His Ma^y further directed, that some good observation should be made of all such as shoulde without apparent necessity seeke libertie to be absent from the Parlement; because it was improbable, that among all the nobilitie this warning should be onely given to one; and so the matter being left for that tyme, it was agreed by all, that the Lo: Chamberlane should take occasion to repaire to the Parlement House the day before, to see the roomes according to the accustomed fashion, and so under some other color surveye all places under those chambers.

The next day, being Munday, about 3 o'clock, the L. Chamberlane, accompanied onely with the Lo: Mounteagle (who was very desirous to go thither himself), went accordingly to the Parlement House, and, after some tyme spent above in the place where the King and both houses should assemble, he tooke an occasion by reason of some stuffe of the Kinge's, which lay in part of a cellar under those rooms in the keeping of one Wynnyard (an honest and auncient servant of the late Queene of happy memory), to go downe
into.

into some lower roomes, and thereby finding that Wynnyard had lett out some part of a roome directly under the Parliament Chamber to one that used it for a cellar, he onely looked into it sleightley, and observing store of cole, billets, and faggots piled up, he asked to whom it belonged; whereunto, when answer was made by him that had the key, that the wood belonged to Mr. Thomas Percy, one of his Ma^{ty} pensioners, his Lo^{ty}, as it were by chance, inquired further where he was, and how long he had kept house there; to which it was answered, that he had taken that house a yeare and a half synce, but had deferred his lying there, in respect of some other occasions which had forced him to be absent.

As soone as the Lord Chamberlane heard that, and his name, remembring what Percy was in religion and conversation, and observing the commodity which that place might yield for a diuinish practise, he began to apprehend the more necessitie still to looke into the matter, though no other materialls were visible in the place then were ordinary to be bestowed in such roomes; but yet forbare in any sort to give order for it, untill he had returned to the King, without shewing any suspicion there, or curiosity. To which it is not amisse to add this circumstance, that the lord Mountegles mynd so much misgave him, upon hearing him named, as he very earnestly told the Lo: Chamberlane, that the more he observed the words of the letter, which conteyned a friendly warning, the more jealous he was of the matter, and of this place, because there had beene indeed long acquaintance and familiaritie betwixt Mr. Percy and him, and also because he had never so much as any inkling that he lay there; and so, to be short, the Lo: Chamberlane returned to the court to inform his Ma^{ty} what he had fownd. This was now betwixt

fyve and fixe a clock at night ; and then his Ma^y hearing all these circumstances, persisting still in his former opinion, that it could be no other kynd of attempt but with powder (reciting the woords that carried the sence), his Ma^y calling unto him some other of the lords that were in the gallery (where also the Lo: Treforer was present,) he collected again the circumstances remarqueable, and resolved of a searche to be made to the bottome of that vault, declaring, that in such a case as this, he ever held one maxime, which was either to do nothing, or else to do that which might make all sure ; to this his Ma^y further added, that he would have this searh made in such a fashon, as the yll affected might not disperse any malicious bruits of vaine jealousies, when no extraordinary matter should appeare ; and therefore, for avoyding of that, this way was found, that a report should be raised, that some stufte and hangings in the keeping of Wynnyard afore-mentioned were stolen, and in that respect a privy searh should be made, not onely in that vaulte, but in some other houses there-adioyning ; and so accordingly choise was made of Sir Thomas Knevelt, a gentleman of his Ma^y privy chamber, of great fidelity and good discretion, who suddaynely and secretly repaying to the place about 11 a clock, where fynding the same party with whom the Lo: Chamberlane before and the lord Mountegle had spoken, newly come out of the vault, made stay of him, and so going into the said vault, after a diligent and careful removing of all the materials, he found the whole masse of powder, which was laid in for execution of this most tragickall and divelish woorke intended ; whereupon the cattiff being surely seized, he made no difficulty to confesse, that the same should have been executed on the morowe.

Where-

Whereupon Sir Thomas Knevelt bynding him hand and foote, leaving a good gard upon him, and upon the place, immediately returned to the court, to the erle of Salisbury's lodging, about one a clock at night, to whom as soon as he had imparted the matter, Sir Tho: Knevelt went to the Lo: Chamberlane, and from thence sent woord to the Lo: Admiral, erles of Worcester and Northampton, formerly acquainted, who sent to all the lords of the councill lodged in the house to repaire to the King's bed chamber, where, after order given to the L. of Dirlton to make all doors fast, they repaired to the K. and caused Sir Thomas Knevelt to deliver all he had fownd.

As soon as his Ma^y heard it (as is his manner on all such occasions), he rendered a religious thanksgiving to Almighty God for his gracious goodnesse in this discovery, no lesse in respect of his deare and worthy subjects, who should all have perished with him, then for him himself, and so, with no manner of alteration, resorted straight to direct his councill how to procede in all things depending upon such an accy-
dent; first, to command the Lo: Maior to sett a gard of honest citizens, for prevention of such, or spoile of them, yf upon this discoverie the parties guilty should seeke to stirre any tumults; next, to preserve the prisoner from killing himself; with diverse other directions, whereof you have seen the happy effects.

Upon the first apprehension, the wretch gave himself the name of John Johnson, which synce he hath confessed to be false, and his true name to be Guy Fawkes (a gentleman borne near Spofforth in Yorkshire); he carried himself with great obstinacy, standing still for a day or two upon these grounds, that he should have been the actor himself, and the

instrument to have given fire as aforefaid ; that he would reveale none of his complices ; that he held it a meritorious act ; that although much particular innocent blood should have been shedd, yet in such cafes, for the generall good, such private respects must be passed over ; that he was forie it was not done, and for himself despised desire of life, deriding all torture or violence that could be offered to drawe it from him : yet (all this bravery notwithstanding), by the good directions of his Ma^y, and by the wisdom of his counsell (of whose care for the preservation of this estate the whole world may take notice), as also by the particular labors and discretion of such part of his Ma^y counsell as have been used as commissioners in this cause, *viz.* the Lo: Admirall, the erle of Suffolke, Lo: Chamberlane, the erles of Devonshire, Northampton, Salisbury, and Marre, and the Lo: Chiefe Justice, attended by the Atturney Generall, who privately dealt with him in the Tower of London, the whole particular plott is clearly confessed by him, as yo^r shall now heare redd, though being prest to name the rest, besides Thomas Percy, whom he called his M^r ; he standeth nicely upon the points to name men himself, although, when he is shewed his owne vanitie herein, seeing their own flights have discovered themselves, he returned this answer, " That it is superfluous for him to name them, seeing by the circumstance they named themselves."

A letter from the earl of Salisbury to Sir Charles Cornwallis, Ambassador to the Court of Madrid, dated 9th of November, 1605, contains an account of this transaction, nearly similar to the above. That letter is printed in Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State, vol. II. p. 170 : from the Cottonian Library, Vespasian, C. IX.

The

The lord Mounteagle had a grant of £.200. a year in land, and a pension of £.500. *per annum* for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy.

Read June 9, 1796.

In the examination of Guy Fawkes, Wynter, Rookwood, and Keyes, four of the conspirators, taken on the 30th of November, 1605, before the Lords of the Privy Council, is this passage :

“ They (the conspirators) wished that certain of the nobility might be preserved, that is to say, the lord viscount Mountague, the lord Mordaunt, the lord Stourton, and others. And Percy named the earl of Northumberland and the lord Mounteagle. It was agreed amongst them, the *noblemen should be warned.*”

A passage in the narrative, “ That the lord Monteagle’s mind so much misgave him upon hearing (Percy) named, as he very earnestly told the Lord Chamberlain, though the more he observed the words of the letter which contained a friendly warning, the more jealous he was of the matter, and of the place, because there had been indeed long acquaintance and familiarity betwixt Mr. Percy and him.”

These circumstances render it extremely probable, that the letter of warning to lord Mounteagle was sent by Percy ; it is evidently written in a disguised hand.

XVIII. *Observations on a Calendar in the Possession of Francis Douce, F. S. A. In a Letter from him to the Secretary.*

Read November 12, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I Have to beg of you to communicate to the Society the memoir herewith sent upon the first vacant occasion. The original is to be exhibited with the copy, which, if worth keeping, I intreat you to deposit in the Society's collection.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, very sincerely,

June 1, 1795.

F. D O U C E.

THE drawing * which I have the honour of presenting to the Society is a copy of an illumination prefixed to an ancient book of Prayers in my possession, which is therewith exhibited. The name of Thomas Becket in the Calendar, and the method of blazoning the royal arms of England upon the shield, furcoat, and pennon of the right hand figure in the drawing, fix the date of this manuscript to a period between the reigns of Henry II. and Edward III; and it is therefore to be examined by what persons the arms as here represented, *viz.* the arms of England on a label of five points charged with fleurs de lis, were at that time borne.

* Plate XLV.



Illumination prefixed to a Missal.

The first person whom I have been able to trace as using them, is Edmund Crouchback earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III. and brother of Edward I. upon whose seal they may be seen in Sandford's Genealogical history of our kings. It is to be observed, that upon the seal there appear to be three fleurs de lis on each point of the label, whereas on those in the drawing there is but one. This difference may be accounted for from the circumstance of the artist not having had room to paint more than one fleur de lis so as to be well distinguished, a conjecture which derives support from what Sandford tells us, that "he sometimes used the label of three points, and sometimes that of five points, as his seals and other places would most conveniently receive them [a]."

The same arms were borne by the earl's two sons, Thomas and Henry; and this affords ample proof that the label was not used at this time as a distinction for eldest sons, as insinuated by most writers in the science of heraldry. Edward I. before he was king, appears to have borne the royal arms on a label of five points, but without the fleurs de lis; and Sandford notices this as the first distinction of the royal family that he had seen. Afterwards the eldest sons of our kings appear to have uniformly taken these arms.

Edmondson says, that labels of three points each, charged with a fleur de lis, are borne as distinctions of the royal family [b], and yet we see that this is by no means a general rule, as none of the eldest sons of our monarchs appear to have taken the fleurs de lis. It should rather seem that the labels charged with fleurs de lis, or other bearings, were the

[a] Genealogical History of the Kings of England, p. 103. Edit. 1677.

[b] Edmondson's Complete Body of Heraldry, vol. II. in the Glossary.

distinguishing marks of the younger branches of the royal family, instances of which occur on the seals of John of Gaunt, Edmund and Richard dukes of York, and others.

With respect to the other figures in the drawing, it is worthy of remark, that among the knights depicted on the monument of Edmund in Westminster abbey, there is one that bears a strong resemblance to it, but from the decayed state of the painting on that monument, it is hardly possible to decide whether these figures represent the same personage or not. The above paintings have been engraved in Mr. Carter's *Specimens of antient Sculpture and Painting* [c], and are there described by an ingenious member of this Society, who has conjectured that the knight above alluded to might be Edmund himself, from an opinion held by some, that he assumed the name of Crouchback on account of his wearing a large cross. Our learned Director, in his noble work upon the *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, with great reason supposes the cross upon the monumental figure to be an armorial bearing, and not a badge, since all the other knights are represented with arms [d]. In the figure here exhibited the diaper field on the shield and surcoat seems to indicate that the cross is in this instance a badge, and not an armorial bearing; for heralds are agreed, that these diapered fields are the mere fancy of the painter, and not regular paternal bearings. Should it be objected, that in the drawing the cross appears in front only, it is to be remarked, that it was customary to wear badges as well as arms both on the breast and back; of this many instances may be adduced if necessary.

[c] Vol. I. p. 21.

[d] Vol. I. p. 74.

It has been a subject of much doubt whence the name of Crouchback was derived, that is to say, whether from a real deformity in the person of Edmund, or from the circumstance already mentioned of his wearing a cross. Hardyng vindicates him from the abovementioned aspersions in the following words—

By all his lyfe grete manhode toke on honde,
In batail did as wele as any knyght,
It is not trewe that *crouge bak* thuld be hight [*e*]

and adds, that false chronicles feigned him to be “broken bakked or bowge bakked [*f*].” Vincent thinks the matter suspicious, from his being always styled *gibbosus* in Latin records [*g*]; but Mr. Gough has well observed, that we may justly doubt the use of nick-names in public records [*b*]; and it is further to be considered, that the original word signifying both *crooked* and *bearing a cross on the back*, it would be much easier to find a Latin word for the one term than for the other.

From the foregoing observations a conjecture may be hazarded, that the artist has thought fit to give a second representation of Edmund in his character of a crusader, which, if it be well founded, amounts to a confirmation that he actually bore such a distinction as might very properly give occasion to the epithet of *crouch* or *cross backed*. But inasmuch

[*e*] MS. Chronicle, penes F. D., or, as the printed copy has it:

It is no true that *croke backed* he hight,
For valiaunt he was in all his doynges,
And perfonable witial to every man's sight.

[*f*] *Broke backed* and *bowe back: d.* Printed copy.

[*g*] Discovery of Errors in Brooke. Tit. Lancaster.

[*b*] Sepulchral Monuments, vol. I. p. 69.

as the explanation of the last mentioned figure in the drawing may be deemed liable to many objections, and is by no means satisfactory to myself, I shall beg leave to submit another to the consideration of this learned Society.

It is well known to have been the practice in former times to adorn the manuscript hours, psalters, missals, breviaries, and other services of the books of the church of Rome, with the portraits of those eminent persons for whom they were executed, and that these were not consequently accompanied by their *patron saints*. Of this many instances occur in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the like representations are found upon portable and other altar pieces. If this drawing was intended to exhibit such a subject, it is perhaps one of the earliest specimens of the kind. The red cross upon the surcoat and pennon is what is usually called a *faint George's cross*; and, the earl of Lancaster being of the royal blood, it is very natural that he should adopt that saint as his patron.

It is to be examined in the next place, whether Saint George was represented with this device at such an early period. We learn from Polydore Virgil, that when Edward III. founded the order of the garter, he chose Saint George for his patron, and represented him with a silver shield, whereon was a red cross; that he clothed his soldiers in white coats with red crosses on both sides [1], "parallel," adds Ashmole, "to the arms *antiently* assigned to Saint George, as also to the kingdom of England placed under his patronage, which arms the kings of England have ever since advanced on their

[1] Pol. Virgil Hist. Angl. lib. I.

standards

standards both by land and sea [*k*].” Legh also says, that it pleased king Edward III. to take Saint George for his patron, and to bear his cross on a shield [*l*]. Dr. Pegge, in his very learned memoir on the History of Saint George [*m*], has produced numerous authorities to shew, that the name of this saint was well known in England during the Saxon times, and that he was regarded as the patron of this country before the time of Edward III. There is every reason to suppose, that Richard I. introduced him here in that character, from having observed, during the crusades, the great military estimation in which he was held in the East. Matthew Paris relates, that long before this, *viz.* in the year 1098, at the battle of Antioch, Saint George, Saint Demetrius, and Saint Mercury, appeared in a miraculous manner, and were immediately known by their standards [*n*]. And Jacobus de Voragine, who wrote his Golden Legend at the end of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Edward I. citing some history of Antioch, says, “and when it so was that they had assyged Jherusalem, and durst not mount ne go upon the walles for the quarrelles and defence of the Sarafyns; they saw appertly Saint George, which had *whyte armes with a reed crosse*, that went up before them on the wall, and they folowed hym, and so was Jherusalem taken by his helpe [*o*]”.

It has been suggested to me by the Abbé de la Rue, an honorary member of this Society, that many churches in

[*k*] Order of the Garter, p. 246.

[*l*] Accedence of Aismory, fol. 27. Edit. 1591.

[*m*] Archæologia, vol. V.

[*n*] M. Paris, p. 43. Edit. 1640.

[*o*] Golden Legende, fol. cxii, versé. Edit. 1527.

Normandy were dedicated to Saint George before the Conquest, and that the Normans might have introduced this saint as a military patron. Yet it is certain, that his name was not invoked by the Normans at the battle of Hastings, nor is there any evidence that I have been able to discover, of its having been used as a war cry before the reign of Edward III.



The Font at Thorp

XIX. *Description of the Reliefs on the Font at Thorpe Salvin in Yorkshire. In a Letter from Mr. Holden to his Grace the Duke of Leeds.*

Read November 26, 1794.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE taken the liberty of inclosing to your Grace a slight drawing *, which is a tolerably accurate representation of a curious antique font in the church in Thorpe Salvin, near Kiveton.

Your Grace's condescension in receiving the sketch I formerly sent you, has induced me to hope you will not think me impertinent when I beg your acceptance of this ; as I have reason to think you have no drawing of it, and, perhaps, your Grace may never have been informed that you have such a curiosity so near your own house.

This font has attracted the notice of several Antiquaries, who have spoken of it as a very extraordinary thing of the kind, though I have not heard that any one has ventured to give an explanation of it ; and, indeed, the sculptor himself had no other idea than a few devices purely symbolical. Many of these antient fonts have been charged with representations of some marvellous actions of legendary saints or bishops, and others seem to have had nothing in view but to remind the spectators of some circumstance in the life of our blessed Saviour, or some ceremony in the Christian church. Of the

* Plate XLVI.

latter.

latter fort I take this font to be ; the two first compartments being evidently a representation of the baptism of a child, in which a monk is preparing to immerse it in a font, whilst four sponsors are stretching out their hands in token of their vow. In the next is a man tying up sheaves of corn with a sickle under his girdle. The fourth compartment presents a person on horseback, riding over a bridge, and holding in his hand a censer, out of which seems to issue something like flames. The next is a man with a helmet on his head, and a basket hung by a belt across his shoulder, out of which he appears to be sowing seed ; and next him is a person who seems about to seat himself in a chair, or rather a tub, which, from the appearance of the top, seems to bear some allusion to the Papal dignity.

Here the sculptor's invention was exhausted, or his story was told ; for the remainder is filled up with an odd unintelligible thing by way of ornament, and some beautiful pillars with capitals and arches interwoven.

All these figures are cut in stone in alto relievo, and as far as one may judge from the circular arches and the mouldings, which are beautifully cut, are of Saxon origin, and probably contemporary with the church itself.

I shall be extremely proud if your Grace looks on this drawing as the smallest acquisition, and will give it a place in your collection. The subject at least is curious, and may make up in some measure for the badness of the performance. and I remain, My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble Servant,

RICHARD HOLDEN.

XX.

Rotherham,
August 8, 1795.

XX. *Illustration of the Reliefs on the Font at Thorpe Salvin.*
By Francis Douce, Esq. In a Letter to the Secretary.

Read December 17, 1795.

Gower Street, December 15, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

WILL you allow me to submit to you some explanation of the drawing of the font at Thorpe Salvin, Yorkshire, which, by the condescension of his Grace the Duke of Leeds, has been lately communicated to the Society.

I conceive that four of the compartments represent the seasons of the year. Winter is figured by an old man warming himself before a fire in a chimney. Spring, by one riding out a hawking, as would probably appear from an attentive inspection of the original. Summer, by a man reaping corn and bundling it up into sheaves; and Autumn, by a husbandman sowing seed. The other compartments exhibit the ceremony of Baptism, with the parents and sponsors.

I think the sculptor's design was to intimate, that the baptismal rite might be performed at all times of the year; in contradistinction to that of marriage, which was not allowed but at particular seasons. Among our Saxon ancestors, baptism was required to be administered within nine, or sometimes within thirty, days, under a certain penalty. Among other nations, during the early periods of Christianity, baptism was not permitted but at Easter and Whitsuntide, a practice that continued in

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E e

France

France until after the year 1200, as appears from several councils. I think this a presumption in favour of the antiquity of the font in question, which is probably Saxon. The figures of the seasons are borrowed from the representations of particular months, as we find them in very ancient calendars. Should you perceive no objection to these conjectures, you may, perhaps, do me the honour of laying them before our Society.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

FRANCIS DOUCE.

XXI. *Account of the Hospital of St. Margaret, at Pilton in Devonshire. By Benjamin Incedon, Esq. In a Letter to John Wilmot, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read December 24, 1795.

Vol. 28. p. 211.



DEAR SIR,

Pilton House, 1794.

THERE is a charity at Pilton in Devonshire, distinguished by the name of *St. Margaret's Hospital*.

This hospital, or house, as it was sometimes called, was formerly appropriated for the reception of lepers of both sexes [a].

[a] "Adam Teaghe dedit tenementum in Pilton fratribus et sororibus Lep'or
"hosp. beate Margarete de Pilton." Dat. 24 Edw. III. [A. D. 1350.] Hospital
Deed.

E e 2

It

It was situated in Pilton-street, near the chapel [*b*] of St. Margaret, in honour of whom, perhaps, it was originally founded. But I have not met with any record which declares by whom, or when, it was founded.

Although the time of its foundation cannot be ascertained, the old writings in the hospital chest (many of which are in high preservation) discover strong proofs of its antiquity. It appears, that the benefactions to it were numerous, consisting of small tenements, gardens, and rents annually issuing out of other lands.

The following extracts from some [*c*] of the writings will not, I flatter myself, be uninteresting to the subject.

L. "Om'ibz Xti fidelibz &c [*d*]. H. di grā Exon. ep̄s saltm̄ in dño,
 " &c. h̄ est transactio fīa corā nob̄ anno consecōis n̄re sexto in octav'
 " Sⁱ Laurencij int' eccl̄ de Pilton de consūsu Rād̄ tunc ejusd̄ loci pri-
 " oris [*e*] & monachorū iūm dño ōvientiu' & Lep̄os de Pilton, sop̄itis
 " hinc in om'ibz q'rel' & exacoibz vidl' qd̄ dñi Lep̄si reddent annu-
 " atim ecc̄le de Pilton in die S^{te} Margarete duas libras cere & si due
 " libre cere cariores fūint sex denariis reddent sex denar' cū duabz lib
 " cere; reddent & annuatim in die pasche eid̄ eccl̄e de Pilton' duodecim
 " denar'. P'dictis autem Lep̄sis omēs obvecōnes caplle Saint Margarete
 " cū integritate remanebt in ppetum. Quicq; autem prior fūit de
 " Pilton nichil exigit ab eisdm̄ Lep̄sis, neq; in introitu dom' neq; in
 " ultimo articlo mortis n̄ qd̄ ipi dñe eccl̄e de Pilton gr̄is conf̄se volūnt
 " sicut parochiani. Monachi aut̄ dñe eccl̄e in die pasche intuitu divino in
 " die pasche & die ven̄is in pasceven & die S^{te} Margarete d'tis Lep̄sis
 " celebracōem divinar' plenarie ministrab̄t. Ortus qui ē de feudo Pilton

[*b*] Now a dwelling house, and part of the hospital possessions.

[*c*] The originals, and seal, are sent up for your inspection.

[*d*] Henry Marshall, consecrated bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1191. Heylin.

[*e*] Pilton priory was a cell to Malmesbury abbey, and filled with black monks. Dugdale.

" ipis

" ipis Lepſis ſub pſata penſione ī ppetuū remanebit. Et ut hī tranſacō
 " rata &c. eam tam ſc̄pti qm ſigilli n̄ri teſtimonio corroboravim'. Hiis
 " Teſt. W. de Svind canonicō Exon' R. de Winkel Offic Bardeſtapt. Ma-
 " grō H. de Wilton, Magrō G. de Sutton'. G. decano de Okent. Henr.
 " de Eling, Gileſ & Bnd clicis n̄ris. Stēph elico. Reg' Beaupel. Ric'
 " de Porta, & multis aliis.

[*The Seals are torn off.*]

II. " Omniūz Xī fidelibz ad quos pſens ſcriptum pvenit Ric. fil Ric.
 " ſil Walē, noverit univerſitas n̄ra me &c. dediſſe &c. Lepſis de
 " Pilton ſex denar' quos recipient, annuatim de burgagio in villa de
 " Barnaſtapt, &c. huic ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui. Hiis Teſtibz ; Ro-
 " gō Cole canonico Exon' [f] Hen' de Merton, Rogero filio Symonis, Johē
 " p' de Effe. Willo p' de Chiriton, Galfrido p' de Bochland, et
 " multis aliis.

[*Here the Seal.*]

III. " Sciant pſentes, &c. Ego Phillipp' p̄uleyn de Barnaſtaptē di-
 " vine caritatis intuitu &c. dedi &c, pro aiaūz patris, &c. . . . S^{ca}
 " Margarete de Pilton & Lepſis ibidem deo ſervientibus, &c. ſex denarios
 " de redditu cujuſdam orti int' porta' ſept'oñalem Barnaſtaptolice, &c.
 " Eam pſenti ſc̄pto & ſigilli mei appoſitione confirmavi. Hiis teſtibus ;
 " Dño Willo de Raleg' [g] Dño Phillippo de Bello monte, Willo Pancl,
 " &c. et multis aliis.

[*The Seal is torn off.*]

At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, this hoſpital, I ſup-
 poſe too inſignificant to be ſeparately rated in the eſtimate of
 the eccleſiaſtical lands, was diſpoſed of as an appendage to
 the priory of Pilton ; and, after having had various poſſeſſors
 (who to their honour kept it on a charitable foot), it is
 now become a part of the poor lands of the pariſh.

[f] Roger Cole, canon of Exeter, was a juſtice itinerant in Devon, in the
 3d year of king Henry III. A. D. 1:18. From an old deed of Bremridge, *penes me.*

[g] Sir William de Ralegh, knight, was a witneſs to an old deed of Combmar-
 tin, in the 48th year of king Henry III. A. D. 1264. *penes me.*

The feoffees of those lands, as patrons, present, when vacancies happen, some poor inhabitant of the Church of England to the place of PRIOR, BROTHER, or SISTER, of the HOSPITAL of St. MARGARET, who hold this charity for life, grant leases of their little possessions under their common seal, and receive the fines and conventional rents, amounting to about three pounds a year, to their own use.

The common seal, perhaps not less curious than the old writings, seems to be made of tin, or some metal like it, and to have been cast in a mould before the armorial bearing and the inscription passed through the hand of the engraver. It is somewhat singular, that the inscription meant for SIGILL. LEPROSORV' BEAT. MARGARET. DE PYLTON, is perfectly legible in the face of the seal, but not so on the impression. Many seals of the kind you may possibly have met with in your extensive researches into antiquity, but this is the only one of the kind that has ever occurred to me in my confined walk.

If the above account of the hospital, or its seal, affords you any amusement, it will give great pleasure to one of its patrons, who is

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

BENJAMIN INCLEDON.



XXII. *Observations on certain Ornaments of Female Dress.* By Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S.

Read January 14, 1796.

THE female ornaments of dress which Mr. Douce has the honour of laying before the Society * were presented to him by an old lady, in whose family they had always remained. They consist of a purse, a pin-cushion, and a pair of knives, the latter of which cannot be better illustrated than by the following extract from a note on a passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, by our worthy member George Steevens, Esq.

"Knife lie thou there." It appears from several passages in our old plays, that knives were formerly part of the accoutrements of a bride; and every thing behoveful for Juliet's state had been just left with her. So in Decker's *Match me in London*, 1631.

"See at my girdle hang my *wedding knives*."

Again, in *King Edward III*, 1599.

"Here by my side do hang my *wedding knives* :

"Take thou the one, and with it kill thy queen,

"And with the other I'll dispatch my love."

To the above curious note it may be added, that the practice of wearing knives and purses at the girdle appears to have been pretty general among the European women at the end of the sixteenth century, as may be collected from several contemporary prints. There seems therefore to be no other

* Plate XLVII.

way to account for the term of *wedding knives*, than by supposing that at the time of marriage ladies were presented, amongst other articles of a domestic nature, with the ornaments in question, but of a particular and more splendid kind than ordinary. No other representation of this fashion of wearing knives &c. at the girdle in our own country, has yet occurred to the writer of this article, than the small print of an English woman upon Speed's Map of Europe; the attention, therefore, of the possessors of ancient English portraits to this circumstance might be the means of hereafter affording some more satisfactory illustration.

It is proper to observe, that the date 1610 occurs upon both the handles, and to suggest to the recollection of this Society, that the use of forks found its way from Italy into this country much about that period, though they were not generally adopted till a considerable time after. It may not be altogether useless to add, that they were known in Italy much earlier, as appears from a book intitled, "*Il Trinciante di M. Vincenzo Cervio. Venetia, 1581,*" in which cuts of double pronged forks are to be found, as well as three pronged ones for eating fruit.

The materials of these articles consist of purple velvet embroidered with gold. The handle of one of the knives is of amber; that of the other, of a reddish coloured glass. They were all suspended together at the girdle.

XXIII. *Extracts from a MS. intituled "The Life of Mr. Phineas Pette, one of the Master Shipwrights to King James the First, drawn up by himself." Communicated by the Reverend Samuel Denne, F. A. S.*

Read December 10, 1795, and February 4, 1796.

I Phineas Pette, being son of Mr. Peter Pette, of Deptford Strond in the county of Kent, one of his majesty's shipwrights, was born in my father's dwelling-house in the same town on All Saints day in the morning, being the first day of November, in the year of our Lord 1570.

At nine years of age I was put to a free-school at Rochester, in Kent, to one Mr. Webb, with whom I boarded about one year; and afterwards lay at Chatham Hill in my father's lodgings at the Queen's house, from whence I went every day to school to Rochester, and came home at night for three years space; afterwards, by reason of my small profiting at this school, my father removed me from thence to Greenwich, to a private school kept by one Mr. Adams, where I so well profited, that in three years time I was fit for Cambridge.

In the year 1586, at Shrove-tide, against Bachelors' commencement, I was sent to the university of Cambridge, and by the means of Mr. Howel, a minister in Essex, was placed in Emanuel college, with a reverend tutor, president of the

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house,

house, called Mr. Charles Chadwick, where I was allowed 20 *£. per ann.* during my father's life, besides books, apparel, and other necessaries.

In the year 1589, about the 6th of September, it pleased God to call to his mercy my reverend loving father, whose loss proved afterwards my utter undoing almost, had not God been more merciful to me; for, leaving all things to my mother's direction, her fatal matching with a most wicked husband, one Mr. Thomas Num, a minister, brought a general ruin to herself and family.

By reason of my mother's cross matching, my means of maintenance being wholly taken from me, and having no hopes of exhibition from my friends, I was forced, after four years continuance at Cambridge, my graces for Bachelor of Arts being passed both in house and town, to abandon the university presently after Christmas 1590.

At Candlemas after, I, by the instant persuasion of my mother, was contented to put myself to be an apprentice to become a shipwright (my father's profession), and was bound a covenant servant to one Mr. Richard Chapman of Deptford Strond, one of her majesty's master shipwrights, and one whom my father had bred up of a child to that profession; my allowance from him, to find myself tools and apparel, being bare but 46*s.* 8*d.* *per ann.* This man I served almost two years altogether, at Chatham in the queen majesty's works (and then he died), where I spent all that time, God he knows, to very little purpose.

After my afore said master his death, I laboured to have served Mr. Matthew Baker, one of her majesty's master shipwrights also, but, by the working of one Mr. Peter Buck, then clerk of the cheque at Chatham, and some other back friends,

friends, I was crossed in my service, and so put to my shifts, and left to the wide world without either comfort or friend, but only God.

At this time my eldest brother by my father's side, Mr. Joseph Pette, succeeded in my father's place one of her majesty's master shipwrights, which preferment, no doubt, God brought him to, the better to enable him to give his help to us; but we found it clear contrary; and I was constrained to ship myself to sea upon a desperate voyage in a man of war, not greatly caring what became of me.

I was shipped on this voyage a little before Christmas 1592, in a ship called the Gallion, Constance, of London, of the burden of 200 tons, or thereabouts, belonging to a gentleman of Suffolk, one captain Edward Glenham, for the carpenter's mate, the master carpenter being one Edward Goodhall, born in Deptford.

To my setting out to sea I found none of my kindred so kind as to help me with either money or clothes, or any other comfort, only another brother I had by my father's side, Peter Pette, then dwelling at Wapping, that vouchsafed me lodging, meat, and drink, till the ship was ready to sail; one William King, a yeoman in Essex, and a stranger to me, lent me £. 3. in ready money, to help to furnish my necessaries, which afterwards I repaid him again.

In this voyage I endured much misery for want of victuals and apparel, and, after twenty months spent in the Levant seas, coasts of Barbary and Spain, with many hazards both of loss of life and time, without taking any purchase of any value, we extreme poorly returned for Ireland into the river of Cork, and there taking leave both of ship and voyage, I travelled to Diveling to visit my uncle, captain Thornton,

and my brother Noah, being then master with him in the Popenjay of the queen's majesty, and presently after bent my course for England, taking my passage at the town of Waterford.

With some difficulty I got to London some three days before Christmas 1594, having neither money nor apparel, and took up my lodging at my brother Peter's house in Wapping, who, although I returned very poor, yet vouchsafed me kind entertainment. The next day I presented myself to my brother Joseph, who received me very coldly, and out of his bounty lent me forty shillings to apparel myself, which I bestowed as frugally as I could, in Burthen-street in London, contenting myself as well as I could with mean attire, till such time as it should please God to provide better for me. At that time it so fell out, that there were certain of her majesty's ships to be made ready for the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, among which the *Desiance* was to be brought into Woolwich dock to be sheathed; which work being commended to my brother Joseph's charge, he was contented to admit me, amongst many others, to be one, where I was contented to take any pains to get something to apparel myself, which by God's blessing I performed before Easter next after, and that in very good fashion, always endeavouring to keep company with men of good rank, far better than myself.

About Bartholomew tide in 1595, the Triumph of her majesty was had into Woolwich dock to be new built by Mr. Matt. Baker, under whom I was entertained as an ordinary workman, and had allowed me a boy, which was Thomas Wood, being the first servant that I ever kept. But presently after Mr. Baker was appointed to go in hand with the building of a great new ship at Deptford, called the *Repulse*, and
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was admiral of my lord Essex's Squadron in the Cadiz journey. The Triumph was appointed to my brother Joseph's charge, with whom I a while continued, but finding him unwilling to preserve me in his work, as next under him, with some passage of discontent betwixt us, I left him, and had ready entertainment by Mr. Baker in his new business at Deptford, yet no otherwise than an ordinary workman, with whom I continued from the beginning of the aforesaid ship till she was wholly finished, launched, and set sail on her voyage from Woolwich, which was about the latter end of April 1596. All that winter, in the evenings, commonly I spent my time to good purposes, as in cyphering, drawing, and practising to attain the knowledge of my profession, and then found Mr. Baker some time forward to give me instructions, from whose help I must acknowledge I received my greatest lights. At this time the lord admiral lay most of the winter at his house; I got some acquaintance amongst his men, and was much importuned to have attended his lordship in that voyage, which no doubt would have proved very much both profitable and beneficial unto me; besides it would have brought me into acquaintance and favour with the lord admiral; but some other reasons restrained me from all these likelihoods, and kept me at home, to my no small hindrance as it fell out.

After I was discharged from the Repulse, my brother Joseph entertained me at Woolwich upon the Triumph, upon which I wrought till her launching, and the discharge of men from her; and afterwards was employed at my brother's at Limehouse, upon a small model for the lord Treasurer's house, called Theobald's. About this time I was desirous, by the instigation of some friends of mine, to have been a follower

follower of the lord Essex, and was three several times brought purposely to have been presented unto his lordship, but was every time delayed by reason of his great estate affairs, and the Lord of Heaven having otherwise in his secret wisdom determined to dispose of me.

In the beginning of 1597, my dear and loving mother departed at Weston in Suffolk, not far from Bury. In the latter end of March, or beginning of April, 1597, by the means of one Mrs. Gilbert Wood, one of the lord admiral's chamber, an especial good friend of mine, I was presented to the Lord High Admiral of England at his manor at Chelsea, where his lordship was not only pleased to accept me as his servant, but openly shewed such extraordinary respect to me, that I had much cause to give God thanks, who no doubt had stirred his honourable heart to regard me, but a simple and mean fellow, even far beyond my expectation or desert; and this was the very first beginning of my rising.

About Midsummer, 1598, was the Elizabeth Jonas launched out of Woolwich dock, and sudden preparations made to have received her majesty on board the ship riding afloat, but for some unknown reason her majesty came not at all. For even at that instant had one Mr. Wigs procured a commission for examination of certain abuses in the navy, which was pursued with a great deal of malice against divers particular men, but with very little profit to her majesty's service.

From Midsummer all the ensuing year to Christmas I lay still and idle without any manner of employment or comings-in but what my servants got with working now and then abroad, which was very little, and hardly able to buy me

food. About Christmas my honourable lord and master the Lord High Admiral commended me to an employment in Suffolk and Norfolk, for the finishing of a purveyance of plank and timber, formerly undertaken by one Child of Sole, who dealt in Norfolk, and, dying, left the business in much disorder; and one Robert Ungle, who dealt in Suffolk, and for divers abuses by him there committed fled the country, and all the service in great disorder and spoile; for the rectifying of which abuses, saving of her majesty's provisions, and discharging of the country, it pleased my lord to make a choice of me to undertake the same, and to take order to send in all the said provisions of timber and plank; which accordingly I did, using all care and diligence in the performance of the same, for the benefit of her majesty's service, the content of my Lord Admiral, and his officers of the navy, and satisfaction of the countries where I had to do. Notwithstanding, through the malicious design of old Matthew Baker, Bright Adye, and others, all my doings and accounts were truly sifted (but thanks be to God), nothing could be found against me, so I had all my bills passed quietly, but by reason of Mr. Fulk Grevil being then Treasurer of the Navy did not greatly affect me, because of some particular spleen between him and Mr. John Trevor, then newly made surveyor, who was my especial and worshipful friend, he laid a rub in my way, cutting me off wrongfully 20*l.* in my accounts, after all my bills were past, and signed by the hands of the principal officers, according to the custom of the navy. All this year, 1599, I spent wholly in this service, in which time these occurrences happened.

In December, 1599, I began a small model, which being perfected, and exquisitely set out and rigged, I presented to
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my good friend Mr. John Trevor, who very kindly accepted the same of me.

In the beginning of the year 1600, I, having no employment, determined with myself to have bought some part of a cattle carvel, and to have gone in her myself, whereby I thought, by God's blessing, to have got an honest and convenient maintenance; and to that end I began to follow one John Goodwin, of London, professor of the mathematics, with whom I spent three days in a week in practice, and so was purposed to have continued the whole year to the spring; but God, who in his secret counsel had otherwise decreed of me, altered all my determinations; for, upon the 28th of June, I was sent for to the court, lying then at Greenwich, by my honourable lord and master the Lord High Admiral, who, after some speeches expressing both his love and honourable care of me, his lordship concluded to send me down to Chatham, where I was to succeed in the place of one John Holding, a shipwright, that was keeper of the plank-yard, timber, and other provisions (upon some displeasure turned out of all). The means whereof being but small, *viz.* 18*d.* *per diem*, and £. 6. *per annum* fee, for myself, and allowance for one servant at 16*d.* *per diem*, I was very unwilling to undertake so mean a place, by which I was neither sure of competent maintenance, nor of any reputation; but that I was encouraged by the persuasion of my ever honoured lord, who comforted me with promise of better preferment to the utmost of his power, wheretupon being contented to accept his lordship's offer, I was the 27th of June placed at Chatham by Sir Henry Palmer, the comptroller, Mr. John Trevor, surveyor, and Mr. Peter Buck, clerk of the ships.—Upon this occasion of my being placed at Chatham

ham, my brother Joseph and I were reconciled, and ever after lived together as loving brethren. It also happened that Sir Fulk Grevil, then treasurer, continued his spleen against me, and for Mr. Trevor's sake opposed me all he could, which after turned me to much trouble.

In March 1601, I was made assistant to the master shipwright at Chatham, in the room of Mr. Thomas Badman. In this year the first business I undertook was the repairing of the *Lion's Whelp*, haled up at the storehouse and at Chatham. In the year 1602, I also new-built the *Mone*, haled up in the same place, enlarging her both in length and breadth.

In November 1601, Mr. Grevil, having undertaken the preparation of a fleet with her majesty, to be fitted to sea by a set time, was contented (upon my promise to him to procure the said fleet to be fitted in six weeks) to receive me to his favour; which promise I accordingly (by God's gracious assistance) fully accomplished, by which means I gained his love, favour, and good opinion, had there not happened a sudden alteration, by the death of her majesty, which presently followed.

In 1603, I divers times solicited my brother to be joined packate * with him, but his remissness caused me to overslip the opportunity so long, that one Mr. Stephens of Limehouse, this year, by means of some great friends about my Lord High Admiral, got a general reversion of all the master shipwrights places, cutting me off from all hopes of any timely preferment, to my great discouragement, considering what pains I took at Chatham to further his majesty's service. When I

* Sic Orig.

was most dejected with the conceit of this enemy as I took it, it pleased God of his great mercy to me, when I least expected any such thing, to raise me up a means of some hope of preferment after this manner; for, about 15th of January, a letter was sent post to Chatham from my honourable Lord Admiral, commanding me with all possible speed to build a little vessel for the young prince Henry to disport himself in about London bridge, and acquaint his grace with shipping, and the manner of that element; setting me down the proportions, and the manner of her garnishing, which was to be like the work of the Ark Royal, battlementwise. This little ship was in length by the keel 28 feet, and in breadth 12 feet, garnished with painting and carving, both within board and without, very curiously, according to his lordship's directions. I laid her keel the 19th of January, wrought upon her by day as well as by night, by torch and candle light, under a great awning made with sails for that purpose. The sixth day of March after, I launched this ship, being upon a Tuesday, with a noise of trumpets, drums, and such like ceremonies, at such time used. I set sail with her on Friday after, being the third day. Between the Nore Head and the East end of Tilbury we had a very great storm, so that it was Sunday before we could get Gravesend, and on Monday we anchored at Blackwall. Mr. George Wilson, boatswain of the Lion, was master with me, and myself captain; I was manned with almost all boatswains of the navy, and other choice men.

On Wednesday the 14th, by my Lord Admiral's command, we weighed from Limehouse, and anchored right against the Tower, before the king's lodgings, his majesty then being there before his riding through London. There the young Prince,

accompanied with the Lord Admiral, and divers of the Lords, came and took great pleasure in beholding the ship, being furnished at all points with ensigns and pendants. Friday the 16th, we unrigged, and shot the bridge; and the 17th we rigged again, and received both ordnance and powder from the Tower. On Tuesday afternoon, being the 18th day, fitted, with a noise of trumpets, drums, and fifes, we weighed and turned up with the wind at South-west as high as Lambeth, with multitude of boats and people attending upon us. As we passed by Whitehall, saluted the court with a volley of small shot and our great ordnance; and upon the ebb turning down again we did the like, and then taking in our sails we came to an anchor against the Privy Stairs. On Monday the 19th his majesty went by barge to the parliament. We shot our great and small ordnance off both at his taking barge and landing. All Tuesday and Wednesday we rode still, without doing any thing but giving entertainment to gentlemen, the king, and prince's servants, that hourly came on board us. On Thursday morning I received commands from the Lord High Admiral to prepare the ship, and all things fitted to receive the young prince aboard in the afternoon, who accordingly presently after dinner came on board us in his barge, accompanied with the Lord High Admiral, earl of Worcester, and divers others of the nobility. We presently weighed, and fell down as far as Paul's wharf, under both our topails and foreails, and there came to an anchor; and then his grace, according to the manner in such cases used, with a great bowl of wine christened the ship, and called her by the name of *Disdain*. His Grace then withdrawing himself with the lords into the great cabin, there my honourable lord (and till then master), with his own hands presented

me to his grace, using many favourable words (far beyond my desert) in my commendations, with this addition, that I was a servant worthy the acceptance of the greatest prince in the world. From his hands it pleased his grace very thankfully to receive me as his servant, with many promises of his princely favour to me. The next day, being Friday, it pleased my Lord Admiral to entreat my worthy friend, Sir Thomas Trevor, to accompany me to the lord Thomas Howard, then Lord Chamberlain, from whom receiving a ticket, I was sent to St. James's, the prince's house, where, by Mr. Alexander and Mr. Abington, then gentlemen ushers, I was sworn his grace's servant, and by them presented to the prince before he went to dinner, with as much favour and respect as I could desire.

During my attendance at the court as his grace's captain of his ship, it pleased my honourable Lord Admiral to give orders to Sir Thomas Winebank*, and one of the clerks of the signet, to draw me a bill for the reversion of Mr. Baker or my brother Joseph Pette's place, which should first happen to be void, notwithstanding the Letters Patent formerly granted to Mr. Stephens, which accordingly was with all expedition performed, and the 11th of April following was presented to his majesty and signed, and shortly after passed the great seal; for the whole charge whereof I gave Sir Thomas Winbank £.17. About the same time Sir Robert Mansell had his patent passed for the Treasurer of his majesty's navy.

My eldest brother, Joseph Pette, died November 15, 1605, and was buried on the 11th of November in Stepney church-

* Q. Winderbank.

yard;

yard ; my good friends Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Henry Palmer, Sir John Trevor, the principal officers of the navy, and many other good friends and neighbours, accompanied, who, after the funeral, returned to my brother's house, where they were all welcomed with a very great dinner and feast.

Presently after my brother's decease, it pleased my very good lord, the Lord High Admiral, to grant his warrant for my entrance into my brother's place to the effect of my letters patent, notwithstanding the claim made unto it by one Edward Stevens of Limehouse, who had formerly procured a general reversion of all the master shipwrights' places ; but, by reason the fee was mistaken, wherein his majesty was abused, and charged with an innovation, he could not prevail in his claim, albeit he often petitioned the Lords of the Council, and made great friends against me ; yet it pleased God, by the noble favours of the prince my master, and the Lord High Admiral's countenance, I enjoyed my place with a general approbation both of the state and officers, and so finished the year 1605.

The 17th of July, 1606, his majesty the noble king of Denmark arrived in England, against whose coming, being but only supposed two months before, I received private directions from the Lord High Admiral, and some of the principal officers, to have all the ships put into a comely readiness, which accordingly was performed in as decent and warlike a manner as if they had been prepared for sea. But, upon news of his arrival, they were all rigged and furnished with their ordnance, and great preparation made on board the Elizabeth Jonas, and the Bear, for entertaining the kings, queen, prince, and all the other states and troops. Wherein, I confess, I strove extraordinarily to express my service for the honour

honour of the kingdom ; but, by reason the time limited was short, and the business great, we laboured night and day to effect it, which accordingly was done, to the great honour of our sovereign king and master, and the no less admiration of all strangers that were eye-witnesses to the same. The solemnity of the entertainment was performed the 10th of August, being Sunday ; at this time Sir Oliver Cromwell, and other gentlemen, my very good friends, lodged at my house.

About the 15th of April, I received a warrant for going in hand with the ships at Woolwich ; whereupon I removed thither with my household presently after, and began to work upon the ark with a small company till provisions could be brought in to put on more workmen, which was not till the beginning of August, at which time I began to victual all the workmen.

The 25th I was elected and sworn master of the company of Shipwrights, and kept a feast with a great number of our friends, well stored with venison, at the King's Head in New Fish-street.

After my settling at Woolwich, I began a curious model for the prince my master, most part whereof I wrought with my own hands, which, being most fairly garnished with carving and painting, and placed in a frame, arched, covered, and curtained with crimson taffety, was, November 10, 1607, presented to the Lord High Admiral, at his lodgings at Whitehall, his lordship well approving of it. After I supped with his honour that night, he gave me commandment to carry the same to Richmond, where the prince my master then lay, which was accordingly performed the next day after, being Tuesday the 11th. On Wednesday morning, having acquainted Sir David Murray with my business, and
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he delivering the same to his highness, order was given to have the model brought and placed in a private room in the long gallery, where his highness determined to see it in the afternoon. But my ever honoured old lord and master, unknown to me, studying by all means to do me good, had acquainted his majesty with this thing; and, the same day, unlooked for of any, had procured his majesty to make a purposed journey from Whitehall to Richmond to see the model, where he came in the afternoon, accompanied only with the prince, the lord admiral, and one or two attendants. His majesty was exceedingly delighted with the sight of the model, and passed some time in questioning the divers material things concerning the same, and demanded whether I could build the great ship in all parts like the same; for I will, says his majesty, compare them together when she shall be finished. Then the Lord Admiral commanded me to tell his majesty the story of the Three Ravens I had seen at Lisbon, in St. Vincent's church; which I did as well as I could, with my best expressions, though somewhat daunted at first at his majesty's presence, having never before spoken before any king. It pleased his majesty to accept all things in good part, and to use me very graciously, and so returned to Whitehall the same night.

The succeeding year (1668) brought with it many great troubles; for the lord of Northampton having, by the instigation of some that were not great friends to the Lord Admiral, and some of the principal officers of his majesty's navy in especial favour with his lordship, procured a great and large commission from his majesty, for enquiring into all the abuses and misdemeanors committed by all officers in their several places, under colour of reformation, and saving great sums to his majesty, which he expended yearly in the maintenance of his ships; which inquisition was prosecuted with
such

such extremity of malice, as not only many were brought into great question, and tossed to and fro before the commissioners at Westminster, to their no small charge and vexation ; but the government itself of that royal office was so shaken and disjoined as brought almost ruin upon the whole navy, and a far greater charge to his majesty in his yearly expence than ever was known before. In this great inquisition it pleased God, for the punishment of my sins, to suffer me to be grievously prosecuted, and publicly arraigned, as shall in its proper place be more at large described.

The 20th of October, 1608, being Thursday, by God's help, I laid the keel of the new great ship upon the stocks in the dock, and the 25th I raised her, and presently after the stem, and so proceeded in order with the floor as fast as I could, notwithstanding the many practices underhand attempted to have diverted the whole course of the building. During the time that I proceeded with the new frame, the inquisition against the navy growing then to the height, was prosecuted with extremity of malice against Sir Thomas Trevor, Sir Robert Mansell, and some others, among whom myself held not the least place.

About the 5th of March, 1609, there was discovered unto me (by Mr. Sebastian Vicars, carver to the ships, my ever true and faithful friend) a secret combination against me, concerning the building of the great ship, suggested first by the practice of my fellows, old Mr. Matt. Baker, and Mr. William Bright, old adversaries to my name and family, assisted by Edward Stevens, a master shipwright, who laid great claim to my place by a former patent to him granted under the broad seal of England, with some other shipwrights also joined with them, by the especial warrant from
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the great lord of Northampton, my most implacable enemy, my fellows bearing me no small grudge, because by the prince's highness means, my master, I was preferred to that great business before them, and Mr. Stephens malicing me, because he could not prevail against me to recover my place from me. They had also won to their party by much importunity, and by means of a particular letter from the lord Northampton to him to that very purpose, a great braggadocio, a vain and idle fellow, some time a mariner and master, called by the name of captain George Weymouth, who, having much acquaintance abroad amongst gentlemen, was to disperse the insufficiency of my business, reporting that I was no artist, and altogether insufficient to perform such a service; of no experience, and that the king was cozened, and all charges lost, and the frame of her was unfit for any other use but a dungboat, with many other such false opprobrious defamations, wherein he was better practised than in any other profession.

These rumours being thus divulged, the report thereof coming to Mr. Sebastian Vicars's ears, was the cause that he, out of his great love and honesty to me, wrote to me what he had already heard abroad, wishing me to keep a careful watch over myself, for that they would bend all their powers, practices, and friends, to the disgracing of the building, and ruining me. But I, being very confident of the goodness of my cause (though I received that admonition as from a dear friend, with much acknowledgment of his love and care to me), little regarded what their malicious practices could bring forth, made small reckoning after their plottings, till such time as the good honest man, understanding from some of their own mouths what was intended against me, made a

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purposed journey to me to Woolwich (though he was scarce able to travel by reason of a tedious sickness), and there thoroughly possessed me of the certainty of what he before by his writing had truly informed me.

I now perceiving it was no idle flim-flam, as I before supposed, considered that the goodness of my cause might by my secure neglect either suffer hazard, or be overborn by greatness, and began to call my wits about me, and to advise what was to be done in the business; at which time, to make good the supposition, I received a message by word of mouth from a worthy gentleman, a good friend of mine, Mr. William Burrell, principal master-workman to the East India Company, of all their projects, which were discovered to him, particularly by that captain Weymouth, being at that instant time between drunk and sober.

The 13th of April, this Weymouth was by consent of the rest sent to Woolwich to survey my work, and thereupon to deliver his opinion; and I in the mean time was appointed to be at Rotherhithe, at a meeting at a court held for the incorporation of shipwrights, whereof I was the master, that in my absence he might have the better opportunity to perform his malicious instructions, as he was directed by his great master; of the which his purpose I receiving certain intelligence, leaving my intended journey to Rotherhithe, I waited his coming, and received him after a courteous manner; after some discourse and ordinary compliments, he returned back to his confederates, frustrate of his great purpose.

Within a few days after, I wrote something to this purpose to my very good friends Sir Robert Mansell, and Sir John Trevor, being then the treasurer and surveyor of the navy, desiring them, for that it was a business highly concerning the

the honour of our honoured lord, the Lord High Admiral, and their own particular reputation, that they would be pleased to take the pains to make a sudden journey to Woolwich, there truly to inform themselves not only concerning the state of the work, but of divers other material businesses wherewith I was to acquaint them at their coming thither. According to my request, they both came the next day; where being thoroughly possessed of all the passages and occurrences concerning the project of our adversaries, after they had also carefully surveyed the works, with all other things necessary to be advised of, leaving me with good deliberation and instructions how to proceed in my defence, they departed again to Westminster the same afternoon.

Presently after the departure of these gentlemen, desiring the Lord first to guide and direct my pen, so as might best tend to his glory, and the discharge of my duty, I betook myself to my study. In the briefest manner I could, I certified the Lord Admiral of the truth of all the whole project, plotted against me, with the names of the principal actors therein, and the reasons inducing them unto it; withal earnestly beseeching his lordship to be pleased, since the matter so nearly concerned his majesty's profit, the honour of the state, his lordship's own safety, and the reputation of his office, to leave all respect of my particular good, and to procure such evidence to be presently made of the work, by judicious and impartial persons, as his majesty might receive no loss, the strength of the kingdom no prejudice, his honour no impeachment, and the officers of the navy no just calumnation nor blame.

It pleased his lordship, then lying at Whitehall, presently after the receipt of my letter, wherewith he was not a little

troubled to observe their malicious practices, to fend for me to wait upon him, that by conference with me his lordship might be the better informed of each particular passage in this so dangerous information and conspiracy; and after his lordship had received from me such satisfaction as he desired, comforting me with many noble encouragements, as being (as he said) sufficiently persuaded both of my skill, experience, and honesty, wishing me to take a good heart, and never a whit to distrust the goodness of my cause, albeit I had strong adversaries, but that God in his mercy would never permit such a malicious practice to prevail against those that rely upon him, with many other fatherly instructions; and so being somewhat late for that night, his lordship was pleased to dismiss me, giving me commandment to attend his farther pleasure the next morning; and this was the 20th of April. It was no sooner day the next morrow, but his lordship, very careful of doing something in this weighty business, made himself ready by four o'clock, taking my letter in his hand, speeds himself to his majesty's chamber, lying then at Whitehall, and sending in word that his lordship was there to acquaint his majesty with some business of great consequence, was presently admitted to his majesty's bed chamber, and having in a few words given his majesty a taste of his errand, delivered him my letter, and besought him to be pleased thoroughly to peruse the same. The letter his majesty read twice over, and, perceiving how malice was the original of all this stir, seemed greatly to pity the wrong and injury done unto me, using this gracious speech in my behalf, that whatsoever my act was he knew not, but I deserved great commendation for my honest plainness delivered in my letter, and that it was great reason I should be justly proceed withal. To the end therefore

fore that I might not be wrongfully oppressed, and the works disgraced without just cause, his majesty took present order with the Lord High Admiral, that he should join unto him the right honourable lords the earls of Worcester, then master of his majesty's horse, and of Suffolk, then lord high chamberlain, and repairing to Woolwich should there upon their oaths, honours, and faithful allegiance to his majesty, without respect of any particular person, call before them my accusers, and as well by examination of them, as trial of the work itself, both in point of sufficiency as well as of matter, as manner, should truly inform themselves, whether their main accusation so much concerning his majesty's honour were justly commenced or no, which charge by his majesty being performed, they should return the true report thereof with all speed to his majesty, as they should answer it upon their allegiance.

Whilst these things were ordering thus, my malicious adversaries were not idle, but plotting as fast against me, and had so far prevailed with the lord Northampton, that there should be a private warrant directed to the chief of them, *viz.* to Mr. Baker, Bright, and Stevens, and to some others whom they should associate with them; which warrant should have been signed with the king's own hand, to authorize them to repair to Woolwich, and there strictly to make a survey of the work, which being done, upon return of the insufficiency of the same under their hands, and confirmation by oath, it was resolved amongst them I should be turned out, and for ever disgraced, the work utterly defaced, and I never to come to any personal answer; and one of them, who could make his party strongest, would undertake the business, about
which

which they were in great contention amongst themselves who should be preferred to it. But it pleased my good God (who never leaves his servants destitute of his help when all other means fail them) so mightily to work for me, by means of my letter sent to my lord Admiral, and, as is shewed before, delivered to his majesty, so far to prevent their purposes, that upon that very day when they had determined to have displaced and disgraced me, that they were, unawares to them, warned by one of his majesty's messengers to appear before the three lords before named, to answer them at that very place and time wherein they made their account to triumph over me. This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and this day was appointed to be on Tuesday the 28th of April, which time was accordingly kept, and the lords were come to Woolwich by nine o'clock the same morning.

The first thing they did was to take a diligent survey of the work; first, touching the form and manner of the same, and then concerning the goodness of the materials, which having very carefully perused, they repaired into the house, and sat at a little table in the middle of my dining-room. Their lordships being sat, first Mr. Baker was called, and demanded, for the good of his majesty's service, to deliver plainly what he could justly except against the ship, either by point of art, or insufficiency of the materials, and leading him from point to point concerning her proportion of length, breadth, depth, draught of water, height of jack, rake afore and abaft, breadth of the floor, scantling of the timber, and other circumstances; after a deal of frivolous arguings to no purpose, their lordships found, by his examination, nothing worthy of observing, and directly finding him to be more led out of an
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envious

envious malicious humour against me, than upon any certain ground of error in the mould, or probability of insufficiency of any of the materials used in the frame, whereupon he was dismissed. After him was Bright called, and then Stevens, who were so tript in their several examinations, as their lordships found them in their answers clear contrary one to the other, almost in every question, by which their lordships concluded, as they did of Mr. Baker, that all this question and infamous report of the business was plotted by them out of some malicious respects to disgrace me and my work, and not of any care or conscionable regard for the good of his majesty's service, and so they were dismissed. Then was great Kilcow Weymouth called, who being examined as the others before him were, was able to say nothing to any purpose, but held their lordships with a long tedious discourse of proportions, measures, lines, and an infinite rabble of idle and unprofitable speeches, clean from the matter, wherewith their lordships were so much tired, that he was commanded silence.

Then every man being dismissed the room, they consulted in private about half an hour, and then we were all called in again, where their lordships, addressing their speech to me, delivered, that by all this time of inquiry they in their judgment could find no just cause of exception against the business, and this accusation grew, for aught they could perceive, out of envy and malice, and therefore I had no cause to be discouraged in my service, but to go on both comfortably and cheerfully, assuring me they would so effectually return the account of the particulars of their day's work to his majesty, as should not only give his majesty satisfaction, but also secure and defend me from all the opposition any of my adversaries could practise against me, with many other noble speeches of encouragement ;

ragement; and so about four o'clock in the evening, taking their coaches, they returned to court at Whitehall. The same night, after their coming to the court, their lordships repairing to his majesty, they there delivered the account of their journey, together with all particular passages in the same, there offering to prove upon their honours, allegiances, and lives, the ground of that conspiracy to spring from no other reason but inveterate malice to me, and that they found the business in every part and point so excellent as befitted the service of so royal a king, with which his majesty rested marvellous well satisfied.

My adversaries, whose malicious practices nothing could daunt, hunting after nothing so much as my ruin and utter disgrace, were so fired with this prevention, that redoubling their fury, they went altogether the next morning to their great patron and abettor, the lord Northampton, who being vehemently incensed before, to have such an affront to the proceeding of his commission, as he termed our courses to have wrought, was willing to entertain any thing that carried but likelyhood to give him means to be revenged on me for it. Therefore, after these caterpillars had discoursed to his lordship all the circumstances of the hearing before the lords, complaining very grievously, as they termed it, of their partiality to me, and bitterness to them, and that they were not suffered to speak, nor could be heard in any thing they could inform against me, they offering upon their lives to make good all their informations against me to be true, so that they might but gain an equal hearing, his lordship promised to move his majesty in the granting of a second hearing, where he doubted not, as he said unto them, but they should have amends made unto them for their former injuries, and obtain

obtain their purpose against me in despite of all my friends and upholders. His lordship upon this immediately repaired to his majesty, and there made a grievous complaint against the partiality of the three lords, which they shewed in the examination of the business there in that behalf of the plaintiff, tendering to his majesty, that they did offer upon their lives to prove all their informations true ; and besought his majesty very earnestly, there might be a second examination committed to his lordship's care, whereby all partiality should be prevented, and his majesty receive better confirmations of their good service than what the lords had before upon their superficial survey, and partial examination, exhibited to his majesty. His majesty answered, that upon his lordship's first complaint, he had made special choice of three principal peers of the realm, of whose fidelity he was so well assured, that he could not but give credit to that account their lordships had returned upon their serious examination of that weighty business ; notwithstanding, seeing his lordship urged so earnestly a review and second examination, since it was a business of such main consequence, for his better satisfaction and clearing all doubts and scruples, his majesty resolved to take the pains in his own person to have the hearing of the cause indifferently between all parties, appointing Monday the 8th of May following to be the time for the said hearing at Woolwich, in the yard where the ship was building, giving orders to the Lord High Admiral to provide for the same, and to command all such persons as were any ways interested in the business to give their personal attendance upon his majesty at that time and place. This resolution of his majesty made known, there was preparation of both sides to be provided, both of information and defence,

to give his majesty ſatisfaction. But the contrary parties, doubting their malicious practices would now be plainly diſcovered, never dreaming of ſuch a courſe, ſtill laboured to bring diſgraces upon me, informing, in the interim of ten days, if I might be ſuffered to continue the workmen on the frame, I would ſo handle the matter, that all things ſhould be reformed that had by them been formerly found defective both in point of materials and proportions, and therefore were earneſt ſuitors to have all the workmen preſently diſcharged, and the work to ſtand.

His majesty, upon the advice of ſome of the lords, whereof the then lord treaſurer, Sir Rober Cecil, and earl of Salifbury, being chief, would not conſent to any conditions to have the workmen diſcharged ; but that orders ſhould be taken that the work ſhould ceaſe, and the men be continued at his majesty's charge, till the hearing ſhould be paſt, and his majesty to determine what was after to be done ; whereupon his majesty commanded a letter to be written to me to the ſame effect, charging me upon my allegiance to follow the directions therein contained, which I accordingly very carefully obſerved. In the mean time, no day almoſt paſſed wherein Mr. Baker, Bright, Stevens, Clay, Graines, captain Weymouth, with their malicious affiliates, did not meet at Woolwich, to take all the dimenſions of the ſhip, to deface the works by ſtriking aſide the ſhores, and condemning the materials, aggravating continual diſgrace upon me, and railing deſpitefully to my face, which I was forced to endure with patience, and put up with ſilence, flying to God, on whoſe mercy I wholly depended in theſe extremities.

The good Lord Admiral was not idle in this interim to provide for and to give his majesty full ſatisfaction in all things

things that could be objected by the informers, and to that purpose carefully advising with Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor, principal officers of his majesty's navy, together with myself whom it did most concern, what course was to be held to meet with all objections, that could by any means be produced against me; for that the adverse party had made choice of a certain number of masters and builders in the river of Thames to strengthen their proceedings, it was held fit and resolved the like course should be taken by us for our better defence; whereupon sundry experienced men, known to be honest and impartial of both sides, were nominated and appointed, by the Lord Admiral's warrant, to attend this service; some inhabiting about the river of Thames, and others of remote places; with whom divers consultations were held, as well to inform them of the truth of every particular, as also to satisfy their doubts in any thing wherein it was fit they should be thoroughly resolved. I, for my own part, confident of my own integrity, commending my cause to God, provided myself to be able to answer all objections whatsoever that could be alleged against me, either in point of art, experience, or care, in this so weighty service of trust and consequence. I must not here forget the princely favour of my royal then master, prince Henry of ever famous memory, who, in his noble care of me, in the interim of the time appointed by his majesty for my hearing, did almost every day send me a comfortable encouragement by some one of his princely gentlemen, to hearten me and to put life in me, lest I should any way be disheartened with the apprehension of the power of my great and potent adversaries, and, when the time drew near for my trial, sent me a commandment to wait on his grace the Sunday preceding the day at

Saint James's, which accordingly I performed; where his highness vouchsafed to lead me in his hand, through the park to Whitehall, in the public view and hearing of many people there attending to see him pass to the king his father; and in such loving manner counsel me with such comfortable, wise, and grave advice, touching my carriage and resolution in my trial, as was no little testimony of his principal care of me, to my great comfort, and joy of all those who were both eye and ear witnesses of it. Besides, casting the worse that might be, if I had been overthrown by the censures of his majesty, his highness had graciously determined to have received me into a place in his house, and resolved to provide for me while I lived.

The time drawing near, there were sent from London, at the appointment of the Lord Admiral, hangings to furnish the room where his majesty was to sit, and the next room to it where he was to withdraw, the one being the common dining-room of the workmen, the other my own dining-room, both which I caused to be hanged and trimmed up with such furniture as was befitting such a presence, with all conveniency the place could any way afford.

On Monday morning, being the 8th day of May, the Lord Admiral came betimes to Woolwich, attended by Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and others, where his lordship was met by all those persons who were formerly warned to be there on our part, and his lordship took those rooms which were fitted for his majesty. Presently after came the lord Northampton, attended with all the spiteful crew of his informers, and he took Hugh Lyddiard's house, being clerk of the cheque, which was fitted for him, and was there attended with all his rabble. Before his majesty's coming, Weymouth

and his associates pried up and down the yard, belching out nothing but disgraces and deceitful speeches, and base opprobrious terms, being so confident of their wicked ends, as they before had given out that I should be hanged, and the work defaced at the least, which was likely enough to have proved so, had not God put a hook in their nostrils, and, by the justice of the king, caused themselves to fall into the pit they designed for another. The noble admiral spent the time till his majesty's coming very quietly and privately, consulting advisedly with those appointed for the business, never so much as taking notice of the base usage of them on the other side.

All things being in readiness, about eight o'clock his majesty came in his coach, attended with prince Henry, and the principal lords of his majesty's counsel. The lord Northampton met him before he came to the ordinary gate of the yard, and used all the means he could to have led his majesty through Lyddiard's garden by a back way into his house; but his majesty told his lordship, that the Lord Admiral, whom he espied waiting with his train at the ordinary gate of the yard, would justly take exceptions at his so doing, for that it belonged properly there to his lordship to receive and entertain him; so alighting, the Lord Admiral, after his duty performed, guided his majesty in the room provided purposely for the business, whom I ushered as belonging to my place.—After his majesty had a little reposed, he desired the Lord Admiral to bring him to the sight of the work then in hand; which being done, directing his majesty to a brow or stage, made at the stem of the ship, where he might take a perfect view of the whole ground-work of the frame, being then about half set up, and planked as high as the wrong-heads, no foot wailing as yet begun.

After

After his majesty had satished himself sufficiently, he returned back to the place again, and there seated himself in the chair under the state, at a little table standing right before him; the prince and lords taking their stands on his majesty's right hand, with the Lord Admiral and all those warned on our part, and the lord Northampton on the left hand of his majesty, with all his crew of informers, and others appointed to assist him on his part, of sea-masters and shipwrights of the Thames. These things thus ordered, his majesty (silence being commanded by his gentleman usher) began a very worthy speech; first, to signify the cause of his coming to that place, and how much it imported the royal care of a king to take to his personal examination a business of such consequence, as so much concerned the strength and honour of the kingdom and state, besides the expence of his treasure; then he addressed his speech to the actors on both sides, to those who were informers, and to those that were defendants, the substance of his royal speech tending to religious exhortation, that none on both sides should either accuse for malice or other pretence, or excuse for love, favour, or other particular respects; for that his majesty, in the seat of justice representing God's person, would not be deluded nor led by any coloured pretences from understanding the very plain truth of that business which was to be handled; and therefore wished such on both sides, whose conscience accused them either of malicious proceedings, private ends, or partial favour, to give over, and depart before they took the oaths to be administered to them, threatening severe punishment to those who should be found offenders herein, declaring what danger it was to be perjured before the majesty
of

of God and the King. His majesty's speech so effectually delivered to the purpose of the matter in hand to the admiration of the hearers, commandment was given to call the names of those to be sworn on both sides.

The names were then specified—the persons were in number,

On the lord Northampton's side	On the other side
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14 seamen, 8 shipwrights,	14 seamen, and
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and 2 other informers.	13 shipwrights.
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These several persons called and appearing, the form of the oath was read unto them by the earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer, who personated the clerk of the session, and the book was presented to them by the right honourable Charles Howard earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral; this and these ceremonies performed, his majesty willed the lord Northampton to begin his accusation, and then I was called personally to answer, and kneeled right before his majesty near the side of the table, the Lord High Admiral standing on my right hand, Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Trevor standing both right behind me. The accusation against me was exhibited by lord Northampton in writing, containing sundry articles in point of my sufficiency, art, and experience, and in point of my care and honesty in discharge of my duty, in unserviceable materials, to the great detriment of his majesty's service. His majesty perceiving the articles to be many, and very intricate to answer each particular, very judiciously contracted the business to three principal heads,—the point of art—the point of sufficiency of materials—and the point of charge—and to these heads I was commanded to make my answers, and they their accusations. I must confess, that at the first I was so daunted at the majesty of the king, the power of my enemies, and the confused urging of the objections, that I

was confounded in myself, till it pleased God, by the help of the lord treasurer, and his discreet directions, I was recollected, and recovered my spirits, and so orderly answered to each objection, his majesty still holding us on both sides to the proportions. Much time was spent in dispute of proportions, comparing my present frame with former precedents, and dimensions for the best ships for length, breadth, depth, floor, and other circumstances, in all which they could not fasten any thing upon me, but reflected to their disgrace and apparent breach of oath, and plain demonstration and expression of combined practice. Our point of proportion was mainly insisted upon, and with much violence and eagerness urged on both sides, which was the square of the ship's flat in the midships, they offering constantly upon their oaths it was full 13 feet, we as constantly insisting that it was 11 feet 8 inches. But, because this difference was long, and could not be tried upon the small plats, his majesty referred the trial to be made on the great platform, which was purposely framed of planks to the full scale of the ship, where all the lines of the midship bend were drawn, and the square of the flat only described, with their centres, perpendiculars, and sweeps; which trial, because it much concerned the truth or falsity of all the rest, his majesty would not give trust to any of those who by oath were interested in the same; but made choice of the noble and worthy knight, Sir Thomas Chaloner, the governor of the prince his highness household, and of the learned reverend Mr. Briggs, reader of geometry lecture in Gresham college in London, and master of arts, student in St. John's college, Cambridge, who were to decide the controversy. This thus concluded, we came to the point of charge,
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to which was answered, that the charge of building this ship should not exceed other ships that had been built in her majesty's time, I mean queen Elizabeth of famous and happy memory, allowing proportion for proportion, the garnishing not exceeding theirs. This gave full satisfaction to the point of charge, being the second head propounded.

It being then almost one o'clock, his majesty called for his dinner, referring the other points to be handled in the ship after dinner. All this time I sat on my knees, baited by the great lord and his bandogs, sometimes by Baker, sometimes by Stevens, Bright, Clay, gaping Weymouth, and sometimes confused by all; and, which was worst, his majesty's countenance still bent upon me; so that I was almost disheartened and out of breath, albeit the prince's highness standing near me from time to time encouraged me as far as he might without offence to his father, labouring to have me eased by standing up, but his majesty would not permit it. So soon as his majesty and the lords had dined, the king rose and went into the body of the frame of the ship, to make trial of the goodness of the materials; all the lower futtocks were placed, and many upper futtocks also. The adverse party had chalked with a mark almost half the lower futtocks for red wood, cross-grained, and merely unserviceable, all which timber his majesty caused to be dubbed by workmen ready with their tools for that purpose; and, being tried, they were all approved very sound and serviceable; and, touching the cross-grained timber, his majesty said very earnestly "the cross-grain was in the men, and not in the timber." His majesty spent much time in the survey of these things, still opening way to what objections the adverse party

could allege, and what answer I could make for my defence. This business performed within board, his majesty well satisfied in every particular, he openly delivered, that the ship would be too strong, if one third part of the timber were left out, and then began to give me a princely countenance and encouragement, protesting oftentimes, that all this grievous accusation proceeded of nothing but malice. Then his majesty came without board, and curiously surveyed the planks, the treenails, and workmanship, all which gave such satisfaction as still confirmed his opinion of their malicious proceedings. All the while his majesty was intent upon this search, the gentlemen forenamed, who were appointed for the trial of the point of the true flat of the floor, were busied in taking the measures from the ship, and bringing them to the platform; and when they found by due trial all lines to be truly set off, they acquainted his majesty that all things were in readiness. His majesty, having then received satisfaction of all things about the frame, repaired to the platform, attended with the prince, lords, and many thousand spectators besides. His majesty caused the gentlemen to measure each dimension of breadth and depth for his own satisfaction, and then coming to the point of the square of the floor, whether it were answering their assertion of thirteen feet, or agreeable to ours of eleven feet eight inches. The square of thirteen feet was tried from the true centre, and perpendicular, which being applied to the swaps of the mould did differ about sixteen inches; at the wronghead the like trial made by our true centre and perpendicular fell as just in our lines as could be possible; which done, his majesty with a loud voice commanded the measurers to declare publicly the very truth; which

which when they had delivered clearly on our side, all the whole multitude heaved up their hats, and gave a great and loud shout and acclamation. And then the prince his highness called with a high voice in these words; "Where be now these perjured fellows, that dare thus abuse his majesty with these false informations? Do they not worthily deserve hanging?"

By that time all these things were performed, and his majesty wonderfully satisfied, and it growing something late, his majesty returned again into the hall where he formerly sat, and being placed, and the room filled as full as it could be packed, his majesty began a most worthy and learned speech for conclusion of the business, wherein he expressed, with many effectual speeches, what content he received in bestowing his pains that day to so good a purpose. Next, his majesty addressed himself to the lord Northampton for his great care and diligence for searching out such errors in the office of the admiralty, wherein his majesty and the state were abused, with encouragement for him to go forward with prosecuting his commission, notwithstanding his lordship had been misinformed by being drawn to question this business. Next directed his speech to Mr. Baker, Bright, Stevens, and the rest of the informers, very bitterly reprehending their malicious practices, more to bring to effect their own private ends, than out of any conscionable care of the good of his majesty's service, or benefit of the state, repining at the preferment I had, and the countenance of his son the prince, combining together to disgrace and ruin me; though otherwise they envied one another, and were at controversy who should be preferred to my business, with many good exhortations to will them to beware how they did abuse the majesty

of God, and himself his substitute, with malicious informations, in which he could do no less than think them perjured, as in the prosecuting of this whole business was too apparent to himself and all the world, whereby they deserved to be punished severely, if he should censure them as they worthily merited.

His majesty then began to shew me a very pleasing countenance, and turned his speech to me, willing me not to be discountenanced with those proceedings against me, since he was now sufficiently persuaded of my honesty, integrity, and ability to perform what I had undertaken; advising me not to refuse counsel of my fellow servants, since it was his service, wherein we ought to join together for his good, and the honour of the state, with many other princely expressions of his good opinion of me, and readiness not only to give me countenance, but assurance of future favour toward me; and, lastly, he cleared all imputations and aspersions unjustly cast upon the Lord Admiral, with recital of all his honourable service performed to the honour of the state, and his perpetual fame; commending his great wisdom and impartial carriage of himself in this day's trial, wherein he was never observed to give impediment to his majesty's proceedings, but all furtherance possible, as was both evidently manifest to his majesty by the great pains he had endured that day, and the noble patience he had given public testimony of to all present, who were eye-witnesses, with many other gracious speeches to put new life and power into him, to go on as he had begun, to the perpetual remitting his name and honour. Then giving general thanks to those who had taken pains in that day's business, with protestations of his princely care in all matters of such

consequence, for the safety and honour of the state and kingdom, he concluded his speech.

Then the noble Admiral, as his majesty was rising, humbly besought his majesty to license him to speak a few words, as well to declare his own innocency concerning these unjust accusations, as to clear me in the point of my insufficiency, and care and honesty to perform the service intrusted to me ; to which his honour's request (though it grew now to be late) his majesty most willingly condescended. The sum of his lordship's speech tended to admire and extol his majesty's justice, great wisdom, and princely care of the good of the commonwealth, in that he had refused no pains (as this day's work and honourable assembly could justly witness) to provide, to rectify, and to set straight, to the wonder and admiration of them all, a work of so great consequence, and of such a kind of intricacy, as his majesty had never been accustomed to before, and yet so clearly to examine and try in so short a space, as if he had been only bred and accustomed to such elements, with many other speeches tending to that purpose. His lordship then laying his hand upon my head, standing next to him upon his right hand, did there freely offer to pawn all his lands, his honour, and his life, in my behalf, for the performance and finishing of this royal work ; which being once perfected, if his majesty (by advice of the best experienced artists and seamen of his kingdom) should dislike, he would willingly, with the aid of his friends, take off from his majesty's hands, at his and their proper charge, without any damage to his majesty. To this speech his majesty replied briefly with a gracious acknowledgment of his princely acceptance of his lordship's true and faithful service and zeal expressed in that his worthy speech, of which
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he had so great assurance as he confidently protested never king could be more happy than himself in the service of such an honourable subject, and therefore there was no need why he should any way engage either himself or his honour in that which his majesty had by the course of upright justice before the face of God and the world so apparently cleared. This said, his majesty arose.

In passing through the hall, the Lord Admiral going before, and leading me in his hand, the lord Thomas Howard, then lord chamberlain of the household, made a motion to his majesty to lay a charge upon me, that I should not make any quarrel against any person or persons that had that day given information against me, alleging, he knew my stomach to be such (as if I were not contained by his majesty's commandment), I would call them to account for their doings, whereupon blood might ensue. His majesty giving ear to what his lordship advised, gave him thanks for his worthy counsel, and calling me to him before the whole company, *I sitting upon my knees* *, he gave me an especial charge upon my allegiance and life, that I should not quarrel or challenge any person or persons whatsoever, that had that day given information against me, alleging, I had honour sufficient to have been cleared of all questions and objections unjustly charged against me by the equity of my cause and his justice. This speech concluded, his majesty hastened to take his coach, which attended at the gate. The noble lord brought me in his hand to kiss his royal hand, and take my leave. His majesty gave me his hand to kiss with such an expression of his princely favour and encouragement to proceed cheerfully in

* Sic in MS.

my business, as did not only infuse new life into me, but also gave great comfort and content to all standers by. Then I presented myself upon my knee to the most noble prince, my then master, who, taking me from the ground, did so affectionately express his joy for my clearing, and the satisfaction his father had received that day, that he protested he would not only countenance and comfort me hereafter, but take care to provide for me and my posterity whilst he lived. I received the like noble courtesy from all the lords, who declared their joy for the happy success God gave me in this great deliverance. The great lord Northampton, seeing the event of this business, and that all things sorted out clear contrary to his expectation, railing bitterly against his informing instruments, took the back way to his coach, and would not so much as take leave of his majesty, but posted away with no little expression of great discontentment, as did also the rest of their partakers.

The Lord Admiral attended his majesty, being never better content in all his life, and returned to Whitehall with the company, it being almost eight o'clock before they went from Woolwich. Sir Robert Mansell, Sir *John** Trevor, captain Button, and the rest of my good friends followed, amongst whom was the good old lady Mrs Mansell, and Mrs. Button, who had taken the pains to attend the hearing in an inner room all that day. This day, as it was a very tedious day to me by reason I was to answer all objections, and kneel so long together, so was it a day of jubilee to me, a day never to be forgotten by me nor mine, wherein my good God shewed me wonderful favour and mercy to enable me to en-

* Thomas in the MS.

dure the frowns of the king, and to strengthen my weak abilities to withstand the malice of such and so many powerful adversaries by the space of one whole long summer's day. For, albeit his majesty was sufficiently persuaded of their malice and my integrity, yet till he had cleared all doubts by the course of strict examination, and found me in his justice guiltless, he would shew me no countenance at all, but after their malice was discovered, and all those heads and points fully answered, and clearly resolved, his majesty then both in countenance, words, and all other princely expressions, declared his royal disposition towards me.

The next day, being the 9th of May, I began to work again, every man striving to express his willingness thereunto, by reason of the great encouragement his majesty had publicly and generously given them; and within two or three days after, the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir *John* * Trevor, advising together with me, we resolved to move the lords of the council, to have two principal men, who were shipwrights, to be by their order appointed to repair twice at least in the week to Woolwich, to survey the provisions, and to foresee that no unserviceable materials should be wrought upon the ship, which we did to clear all suspicion of any ends of our own. This accordingly was consented to of the lords, and Mr. Matthew Baker and Henry Reynolds were appointed to be overseers, who, for fashion's sake, some three or four times came to Woolwich; but finding our care to be more to perform honestly, than theirs could be to prevent with their best endeavours, they gave over the trust recommended to them, and left me to myself.

* Thomas in the MS.

The 7th of June, the Red Lion, which was newly built by Mr. Baker of Deptford, was launched, where were present the king's majesty and the prince; I attending then near the place at the great storehouse end, where his majesty had his standing, he was pleased very graciously to confer with me, and to use me with extraordinary expressions of his princely favour.

The 8th of June, being the Thursday in Whitsun week, his majesty began to hear the great and general cause of the navy, in his presence chamber at Greenwich, wherein three whole days were spent in several examinations of the truth and circumstances of the informations delivered by the lord Northampton and his agents, against Sir Robert Mansel, Sir John Trevor, and Captain Button, Sir Thomas Bluther, Mr. Legatt, and many others, together with myself. First day the lord Northampton made the very entrance into the business, a great complaint of the dishonour he reaped by the hearing at Woolwich, insisting very maliciously in incensing his majesty against me and others, who, as he said, traduced him in every tavern and alebench, to his great dishonour; and therefore humbly besought his majesty that business might be again called in question, alledging the confidence of the informers, who were ready to maintain the truth of the former information with their lives. His majesty, taking it ill that my lord should dare to question his just proceedings which he had taken such pains personally to hear determined, took him short with a sharp reprehension, and willed him no further to insist upon that whereof his majesty and the whole world were so sufficiently satisfied.

In the beginning of January, 1610, there were two new ships, built at Deptford for the East India merchants, to be
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launched, whereat his majesty, with the prince, and divers lords, were present, and feasted with a banquet of sweetmeats on board the great ship in the dock, which was called The Trade's Increase, the other was called The Pepper Corn, the names being given by his majesty. I did there attend, and receive gracious public usage from his majesty, the prince, and the lords. The tide was so bad that the great ship could not be launched out of the dock; and the smaller, which was built upon the wharf, was so ill struck upon the launching ways, that she could by no means be put off, which did somewhat discontent his majesty. The last day of January, the prince's highness came to Woolwich to see what forwardness the ship was in, where I gave him and his followers entertainment. The 7th of January, by commandment from the prince's highness, I attended at the great feast made by him at St. James's to the king, queen, duke of York, lady Elizabeth, and lords of the council, and all the knights who were actors at the barriers. The supper was not ended till ten at night; whence they all went to the play, and, that ended, returned again to a set banquet in the gallery, where the supper was, the table being 120 feet long, and it was three o'clock in the morning before it was all finished. The 25th of April, the prince's highness came to Woolwich, and dined there with all his train in my dining-room. The second of May, the lady Elizabeth, with her train, came to see the great ship at Woolwich, and was entertained by my wife, I being in London. The 18th of June, the prince's highness came to Woolwich to see the ship, which was now in great forwardness, and almost ready; and the next day he came thither again, in company with the king his father, and a great train attending on them. In the afternoon his majesty

majesty spent almost two hours in great content, in surveying the ship, both within and without, protesting it did not repent him to have taken such great pains in examination of the business of the work, since the fruit thereof yielded him such content. His majesty then did me the honour to come into my house, where my wife had prepared a banquet of sweet-meats and such fruits as were then to be had, whereof he was pleased to taste plentifully, and did very graciously accept of his homely entertainment, giving me special commandment not to launch the ship till his progress was ended.

Between Easter and Michaelmas that the ship began to be garnished, it is incredible what numbers of people continually resorted to Woolwich, of all sorts, both nobles, gentry, and citizens, and from all parts of the country round about, which was no small charge to me, in giving daily entertainment to all comers, which could not possibly be avoided in that place at such a time. The 9th of September, being Sunday, about six o'clock in the morning, divers London maids coming to see the ship, brought in their company a little boy of twelve years old, the only child of his mother, a widow woman dwelling in Tower-street, who carelessly going up and down upon the main orlop, fell down into the hold of the ship, and was thereby so bruised and broken, that he died before midnight, being the first mischance that had happened in the whole time of the ship's building. About the middle of this month, being ready to have the ship stricken down upon her ways, I caused twelve of the choice master carpenters of his majesty's navy to be sent for from Chatham, to be assisting in her striking and launching; and, upon the 18th day, being Tuesday, she was safely set upon her ways; and this day Sir Robert Mansell dined with me at my lodgings. The

20th of this month the French ambassador came to Woolwich to see the ship, whom I entertained in the best manner I could ; and in the time of his being with me, the prince, my royal master, sent me a wonderful fat buck, which he killed with his own hand.

Now began we on all sides for the preparations to launch the ship, and for that purpose there was provided a rich standard of taffety very fairly gilded with gold, with his majesty's arms to be placed on the poop, and a very large ensign of crimson rich taffety, with a canton of the prince's crest to be placed upon the quarter deck, and all other ornaments were carefully provided befitting that purpose. There was a standing set up in the most convenient place of the yard for his majesty, the queen, and the royal children, and places fitted for the ladies and council (all railed in and boarded). All the rooms, both in my own lodgings and at Mr. Lydiard's, were prepared, and very handsomely hanged and furnished with a cloth of state, chairs, stools, and other necessaries. Nothing was omitted that could be imagined any ways necessary both for ease and entertainment. Upon Sunday in the afternoon, being the 23d, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Henry Palmer, came to Woolwich to see how every thing was ordered ; and finding all things prepared and fitted to their liking, about three o'clock they returned all to Deptford, where they lodged that night with Sir Robert Mansel. This evening, very late, there came a messenger to me from them, bringing a letter, which was sent to them from court at Theobalds, to give me orders to be very careful to search the ship's hold, for fear some persons disaffected might have bored some holes privily in the ship to sink her, after she should

should be launched; but my care had prevented their fears beforehand, so far as could be searched or discovered.

On Monday morning, assisted by the help of my brother, Pimonson, and sundry others of my friends, we opened the dock-gates, and made all things ready against the tide; but the wind blowing very hard at South-west kept out the flood, so that it proved a very bad tide, little better than a neap, which put us afterwards to great trouble and hazard. The king's majesty came from Theobalds, though he had been very little at ease with a scouring, taken with surfeiting by eating grapes, and landed here about eleven o'clock, prince Henry attending him, and most of the lords of the council. The Lord Admiral, attended by the principal officers of the navy, together with myself, received him on land out of his barge, and conducted him to the place provided for him in Mr. Lydiard's house. His dinner was dressed in our great kitchen. After dinner came the queen's majesty, accompanied with the duke of York, lady Elizabeth, and divers great lords and ladies in her train, the drums and trumpets placed on the poop and forecastle, and the wind instruments by them, so that nothing was wanting to so great a royalty that could be desired. When it grew towards high-water, and all things ready, and a great close lighter made fast to the ship's stem, and the queen's majesty with her train placed; the Lord Admiral gave me commandment to heave taught the crabs and screws, though I had little hope to launch by reason the wind over blew the tide: yet the ship started, and had launched, but that the dock-gates pent her in so straight, that she stuck fast between them, by reason the ship was nothing lifted by the tide, as we expected she would; and the great lighter, by unadvised counsel, being cut off the stem, the ship settled
so

so hard upon the ground, that there was no possibility of launching that tide; besides which, there was such a multitude of people got into the ship, that one could scarce stir by another.

The noble prince himself, accompanied with the Lord Admiral and other great lords, were on the poop, where the standing great gilt cup was ready filled with wine, to name the ship so soon as she had been afloat, according to ancient custom and ceremony performed at such times, by drinking part of the wine, giving the ship her name, and heaving the standing cup overboard. The king's majesty was much grieved at the frustrate of his expectation, coming on purpose, though very ill at ease, to have done me honour. But God saw it not so good for me, and therefore sent this cross upon me, both to humble me and to make me know, that, howsoever we purposed, he would dispose all things as he pleased; so that about five o'clock his majesty, with the queen and all her train, departed away to Greenwich, where the household were removed. Prince Henry staid a good while after his majesty was gone, conferring with the lord admiral, principal officers, and myself, what was to be done, and leaving the Lord Admiral to stay here to see all things performed that were resolved on. He took horse, and rode after the king to Greenwich, with promise to return presently after midnight.

So soon as the multitude were gone and all things quiet, we went presently in hand to make way with the sides of the gates, and having great store of scavel men and other labourers, we had made all things ready before any flood came; which performed, every man applied himself to get victuals and to take rest. The Lord Admiral sat up all night in a chair in his chamber till the tide was come about the ship; and
Sir

Sir Robert Mansel, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Henry Palmer, and the rest, made a shift in my lodging to rest themselves. The beginning of the night was very fair, and bright moon-shine, the moon being a little past full; but after midnight the weather was fore overcast, and a very fore gust of rain, thunder, and lightning, which made me doubt that there were some indirect working among our enemies to dash our launching. These gusts lasted about half an hour with great extremity, the wind being at South-west. In the midst of this great gust prince Henry and all his were taken upon the top of Blackheath in their coming to Woolwich; but his invincible spirit, daunted with nothing, made little account of it, but came through, and was no sooner alighted in the yard, but calling for the Lord Admiral and myself, and Sir Robert Mansel, went all presently on board the ship, being about two o'clock, almost an hour before high water, and was no sooner entered but the word being given to set all taught, the ship went away without any straining of screws or tackles till she came clear afloat in the middle of the channel, to the great joy and comfort of the prince's highness, the lord admiral, and all the rest of my noble friends; which mercy of God to me I pray I may never forget. His highness then standing upon the poop with a selected company only, besides the trumpeters, with a great deal of expression of princely joy, and with the ceremony of drinking in the standing cup, threw all the wine forwards towards the half deck, and solemnly calling her by the name of the Prince Royal, the trumpets sounding all the while, with many gracious words to me, gave the standing cup into my own hands, and would not go from the ship till he saw her fast at her moorings.

ings. In heaving down to the moorings, we found that all the hawfers that were laid athore for landfasts were treacherously cut to put the ship to hazards of running ashore, if God had not blessed us better. In the interim of warping to her moorings, his highness went down to the platform of the cook-room, where the ship's beer stood for the ordinary company; and there finding an old can without a lid, went and drew it full of beer himself, and drank it off to the Lord Admiral, and caused him, with the rest of his attendants, to do the like. At nine the same morning, being very rainy, he took his barge, accompanied with the Lord Admiral, and the rest of his train, and giving us a princely gracious farewell, rode against the tide to Greenwich, where he made relation of all the business, and the circumstances thereof, to the king his father. We then came ashore to refresh ourselves with victuals, and to take some rest, having toiled all the night before; and amongst the rest Sir Henry Palmer was pleased to stay dinner, where we drank Prince Henry's health round, to handsel the standing cup given at the launching.

The 25th of September, 1612, the new charter for incorporating the shipwrights of England, granted by king James, in which, by the same charter, I was ordained first master, I was sworn in my place of master, the dinner being kept at the king's head in Fish Street, Mr. Dr. Pay making the sermon at the next church adjoining. About this time my picture was begun to be drawn by a Dutchman, working then with Mr Rock at Rochester.

Mr. Pette mentions the sickness and death of Prince Henry, at which time, he adds, began my ensuing misfortunes, and
found

the utter downfall of all my forlorn hopes, to the ruin of all my poor posterity, being now exposed to the malicious practices of my old enemies. Upon my going to St. James's, I found a house turned to a *mapp* * of true sorrow, every man with the character of grief written in his dejected countenance. About six at night, November 6, the most renowned prince of the world, our royal and most loving master, departed this life, not only to the loss and utter undoing of his poor servants, but the general loss of all Christendom of the Protestant religion. The beginning of December I had warning to attend at St. James's upon the preparation of the funeral of our master, and had black cloth delivered to me according to the place I was ranked in above stairs, which was of gentleman of the privy chamber extraordinary; and the sixth day, being Sunday, all his highness's servants at St. James's waited upon his herse then standing in the chapel, to whom Dr. Price, then one of his highness's chaplains, directed an excellent sermon. His text was 2 Sam. ch. iii. v. 31. *Rent your clothes, put on sackcloth, and mourn for Abner.* There were very few at the sermon who mourned not bitterly, and shed abundance of tears.

The 6th of January, 1612, I received a letter from the Lord High Admiral, together with a list of those ships that were appointed to be made ready to transport the lady Elizabeth, with warrant to be grained and fitted accordingly.

January 1612. The 11th day I was sent for from Chatham by a messenger to attend the Lord Admiral, lying then at Chelsea, which accordingly I presently performed, and rode to London, where I stayed full three days, the Lord Admiral

* Mape in MS.

sitting every of those in council, attended by the principal officers of the navy, the masters and master shipwright, to resolve not only for the preparation of the fleet to attend the transportation, but also for preparing many vessels to be built upon long-boats and barges for ships and galleys for a sea-fight, to be presented before Whitehall against the marriage of the lady Elizabeth; the manner whereof concluded and ordered in writing, I was licensed to go to Chatham to take order for the Disdain, and sending up of as many long-boats and fear-barges as could be spared from the navy; which having ordered, I returned again presently to London, and did there attend daily in overseeing those businesses, which were put out by the great to divers yard-keepers by reason of the shortness of time limited for making them ready against the marriage. By reason of this my continual attendance, not only upon that service, but also upon the Admiral and Sir Robert Mansel (principally entrusted to the ordering of the whole service) I first took lodging at Westminster, near Sir Robert's house, in St. Stephen's alley, where I continued many years after. Amongst other vessels fitted for this piece of service was an old pinnace of the king's, called the Spy, of the burden of sixty tons, having nine pieces of brass ordnance appointed to serve as an argosy, whereof I was somewhat against my will (by the Lord Admiral's persuasion) made to serve as captain, in which jesting business I ran more danger than if it had been a sea-service in good earnest. After the sea-service was performed, I was intreated by divers gentlemen of the inns of business, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was chief, to attend the bringing of a mask by water in the night from St. Mary Over's to Whitehall in some of the galleys; but the tide falling out very contrary, and the company attending the

the maskers very unruly, the project could not be performed so exactly as was purposed and expected. But yet they were safely landed at the plying stairs at Whitehall, for which my pains the gentlemen gave me a fair recompence.

The marriage consummated, and the royalties ended, the Lord Admiral gave me a present dispatch to post to Chatham, and get the fleet ready, the Prince being appointed to go admiral, to transport the lady Elizabeth and the Palsgrave's person, and the lord admiral to command her. On the 27th of February I launched the small ship I had begun the summer before, which the Lord Admiral was pleased to call the Phoenix, and was also appointed one of the fleet, under the command of Sir Allen Apsley, then victualler of the navy. About the 14th of March, the Lord Admiral, very careful to have all things ordered as befitting the royalty of such a service, came down to Chatham in person, and stayed two days to direct all things to his liking, wherein I gave his lordship much satisfaction, and by the end of the month I had by my diligence fitted the whole fleet to sail to Gillingham. The first of April, being Monday, the prince sailed over the chain, captain John King being master; the Lord Admiral being newly come to Chatham, came aboard of us, as we were under sail, and went down in her to Gillingham. On Easter-day, the 4th of April, the Lord Admiral, with his retinue, received the holy sacrament. Dr. Pay, chaplain to the lord William Howard, baron of Effingham, and vice admiral in the Ann Royal, preached and delivered the sacrament. On Easter Tuesday, the lord admiral with all his retinue, removed from Chatham, and came aboard to their several charges at St. Mary Creek at Gillingham, and lay on-board in his own cabin this night. So soon as prayers were done this evening,

and the tables covered, the Lord Admiral, out of his noble favour to me, called me, and there ordered me to take my place at his table all the voyage, and would not commonly have grace said till his lordship had seen me sit down, except I was upon earnest business, and gave his officers charge to let me at all times have what I would of his own provisions. The 7th we set sail from Gillingham, wind South-west, a pretty fresh gale. The ship wrought exceeding well, and was so yare of conduct that a foot of helm would steer her. We came to an anchor at Queenborough, and there lay all night. He then mentions, how by the inattention of the master, and from other circumstances, the prince was put aground, and could not be got off till the next tide; and adds, that this unfortunate accident not only discouraged the Lord Admiral, but also gave advantage to the ship's enemies, of whom the lord of Northampton was chief, to persuade the lady Elizabeth not to venture her person in such a vessel that had so ill a beginning, but rather to embark herself in some other ship, and to return home. He observes, that with the ship's company, and the Lord Admiral's retinue, the number of persons on-board could not be less than eight hundred.

The 15th we came to an anchor in Margate road; the next day the Lord Admiral went ashore at Margate, and lay there three days, at Mr. Roger Morris's, one of the four masters of his majesty's navy, and then returned aboard. The 21st, the lady Elizabeth, his grace the Palgrave, and all their train, came to Margate, and were embarked in barges and the ships boats, and were received on-board the admiral, and lay there all night. The 22d the wind getting Easterly, and likely to be foul weather, her highness and the Palgrave, and most part of her train, were carried ashore to Margate. The 25th they

they were all brought on-board again ; presently we set sail, and that night anchored without the Foreland. He then proceeds in his account of the voyage, and observes, that whilst the prince lay at Flushing there were such a multitude of people, men, women, and children, that came from all parts of Holland to see the ship, that those belonging to it could scarce have room to go up and down till night, and that the confluence lasted from the time they anchored till they weighed from Flushing.

The 29th we weighed upon the flood, and turning up to Flushing some mile short of the town, her highness, with the Palatine, and most part of the train, were embarked in the barges and boats, being very fair weather, and was saluted with all the ordnance of the whole fleet, and landed at Flushing, where they were received with all royalty, and saluted with all the ordnance of the town and castles, and guarded with the soldiers and garrison of the town ; our ships anchored a little above the Rammapeers ; this afternoon I went on shore to attend the Lord Admiral, and lay in Flushing, our charges being defrayed by the town. The 30th day, being Friday, the Count Palatine took leave of her highness, and went post to the Palatinate.

May 1613. This forenoon, being Monday, divers of our retinue took a coach and rode to Camphire to see the island ; this afternoon her highness and her train were received into Middleburgh with all royalty. The second day, being Sunday, the burghers feasted her highness at the town-house ; this evening the Lord Admiral brought me to take leave of her highness, and to kiss her hand ; the next day her highness took leave of the Lord Admiral and his train, having attended her to the place where she was embarked ; which done, the Lord
Admiral

Admiral returned from Middleburgh in her barge on-board the Prince, where he found such a multitude of people, men, women and children, that came from all places in Holland to see the ship, that we could scarce have room to go up and down till very night, which confluence of people lasted from the time we anchored at Flushing till we weighed thence. The 4th day the Lord Admiral gave order we should weigh from Flushing to avoid the number of people, which accordingly was done, and we fell down to Cassant Hogut, where we anchored all that day and next night.

The 7th day, the wind continuing Easterly, we weighed and set sail, and by twelve o'clock we came to anchor at Gillingham, from whence I attended the Lord Admiral in his barge to Chatham, where he lay that night at Mr. Legatt's house. I found my wife and family in health, and gave God thanks for his preservation of us in our journey and safe return home, to our mutual comforts.

June 1613. At Whitsuntide Sir Robert Mansel was committed to the Marshalsea upon some displeasure his majesty took against him, by the instigation of the lord Northampton, where he was detained prisoner till the 13th of June following, when he was released at Greenwich.

The 22 of June, 1613, the king of Denmark came suddenly to Somerset-house unexpected. The first of August my gracious master, king James, with the king of Denmark, prince of Wales, and many other lords, came to Woolwich, and went on-board the Mer Honcur, then lying in the dry dock, and almost finished, which ship liked them wondrous well. Here our king took leave of his majesty of Denmark, returning to Whitehall. From thence the king of Denmark took barge to Gravesend, accompanied with the Prince and

Lord Admiral ; Sir Robert Mansel and myself were commanded to attend them. The 2d, the king of Denmark was entertained on-board the Prince, riding at her moorings in the river of Chatham, the Prince of Wales and the Lord Admiral accompanying, Sir Robert Mansel and myself attending. The ship was completely rigged, and all her sails at the yards, richly adorned with ensigns and pendants all of silk, which gave a very great contentment to the king of Denmark, yet it was a very rainy foul day. From thence they returned to Gravesend, where the king of Denmark took leave, and embarked in his own ship.

The 25th of July, 1614, the archbishop of Canterbury lay at Rochester, and went aboard the Prince, where he was entertained with a banquet of sweetmeats by Sir Robert Mansel, myself attending.

About the 27th of March, 1615, I bargained with Sir Walter Raleigh to build him a ship of five hundred tons, which I procured leave from the Lord Admiral to build in the Galley Dock at Woolwich, towards which I presently received £. 500. to begin with, and the 8th of April following I set my men to work on her. In July, Sir Henry Manwaring caused me to build a small pinnace of forty tons for the lord Zouch, then lord warden of the Cinque Ports—towards the whole of the hull and rigging I received only £. 100. from my lord Zouch ; the rest Sir Henry Manwaring cunningly received in my behalf, without my knowledge, which I could never get from him but by piece-meal, so that by the bargain I lost at least £. 100. The 16th of December I launched the great ship of Sir Walter Raleigh's, called the *Destiny*, and had much ado to get her into the water, but I delivered her to him afloat in good order, by which business I lost £. 100. and could

could never get any recompence for it, Sir Walter going to sea, and leaving me unsatisfied.

The 19th of July, 1616, the great duke of Buckingham, lately made Lord High Admiral of England, came to visit the navy then riding at Chatham, accompanied with divers lords, and Sir Robert Mansel, who, on his being here, used me with such extraordinary respect that wrought me much prejudice in the opinion of the commissioners, who ever after plotted my ruin, and to bring me out of favour with the Admiral and the king himself. The 20th of November, attending at Theobalds to deliver his majesty a petition, his majesty in his princely care of me, by means of the honourable Lord Admiral, had before my coming bestowed on me for the supply of my present relief the making of a knight baronet, which I afterwards passed under the broad seal of England for one Francis Ratcliff of Northumberland, a great recusant, for which I was to have £. 700; but, by reason Sir Arnold Herbert (who brought him to me) played not fair play with me, I lost some £. 30. of my bargain.

In the beginning of 1622, before I was two months out of England in a voyage against the Algier pirates, by the malice of Mr. Burrell, and some of the rest of the commissioners of the navy, divers master shipwrights of the Thames, and masters of the Trinity house, were ordered to Chatham to survey the state of the Prince; amongst which commissioners were, besides old Burrell and his son, my fellow Stevens, Granes, Dearfley, Barnes, Thomas Brumneting of Wood-bridge, and one Chanler, a creature of Burrell's, and divers other mariners, who maliciously certified the ship to be unserviceable, and not fit to continue; that what charges should be bestowed upon her would be lost, which they certified under
their

their hands. But the 24th of February, by especial command of his majesty, who well understood their malicious proceedings, the self same surveyors were again sent to Chatham, who gave under their hands, that the ship might be made serviceable for a voyage to Spain for £. 300. bestowed upon her hull and masts; which certificate was returned under their hands, and given to his majesty; whereupon present warrant was granted to have the ship docked and fitted for a Spanish voyage, which was accordingly done, and brought into dock the 8th of March, 1623, and was launched the 24th of the same at Chatham. About the 17th of February I attended at Theobalds, the very morning the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham took leave of his majesty, to take their journey into Spain, being carried so privately that few knew of it. At their taking horse I kissed both their hands, and they only gave me an item that I should shortly go to sea in the Prince. After the Prince and the rest of the fleet were all fitted and prepared to set sail from the moorings, the *St. George* and the *Antelope* fell down to Gillingham, being both appointed to go before to *St. Andrew's* with the jewels and other provisions; the other noble gentleman, my honoured friend *Sir Francis Steward*, commanding in her, whom my eldest son *John* attended as one of his own retinue. Captain *Thomas Lane* commanded the *Antelope*. The 2d of May the Prince removed from her moorings to *St. Mary Creek*; thither came down from London many commissioners of the navy, with *Sir Thomas Smith* and the Lord *Brook*, who plotted to hinder me going the voyage which the king had commanded me, but their malicious practices were prevented. The 17th I took leave of his majesty at Greenwich Park, and kissed his hand, with expressions of his favour,

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which

which was not very pleasant to Sir John Cook, then present. The first of July came to anchor in Stoke's Bay, by Portsmouth. The 20th of August, his majesty, then lying in the New Forest at Beaulieu house, came on-board the Prince, with the marquis of Hamilton, the lord Chamberlain, Holderness, Kelly, Curll, Montgomery, and divers other attendants, and dined on-board our admiral, the earl of Rutland being at London. His majesty was very pleased, and after dinner lay hovering in his barge till all the ships had discharged their ordnance, and then landed at Calshot castle. An account of the voyage to Spain is given by Mr. Pette. On the return he landed at Dover, October 16.

The 24th of May, 1624, being sent for to St. James's, I received a gold chain from Robert Carr, by his highness's order, valued at £.104. as a reward for my attendance this voyage, which I was commanded to wear one day, and to attend his highness to parliament, from whom I received very gracious respects. About the end of December the Prince was docked to be fitted for sea; meanwhile the duke of Brunswick came to Chatham, with divers of the prince's servants, and came on-board the ship in the dock. The 29th of January she was launched, and soon after her masts set, and divers other ships *graved* * and made ready for a voyage to sea. The 28th of March, 1625, certain news was brought to Chatham of king James's death; and the next day his majesty was proclaimed among us in the navy at the Hill-house, the masters, boatswains, purfers, and gunners, belonging to the navy, being present.

All April and May I attended at Chatham, to repair the fleet then bound to fetch over the queen. In the latter end of

* Graved in MS.

May his majesty came to Rochester, where I presented myself to him in the Dean's yard, and kissed his hand, and had speech with him till he came into the house where he dined. I attended all the dinner while, and waited his majesty's coming by towards Canterbury: he alighted at my house, and staid there awhile, and gave me leave to drink his health, and returned to his coach, ordering me to follow him, and hasten on board the Prince then in the Downs, which I presently did, and lay at Sandwich that night. Next day I was on-board the Vanguard, captain Pennington commander, bound for France, where I met Sir Thomas Button, captain Edward Gyles, and other good company, where I dined, and then was set on-board the Prince. The 4th of June his majesty came on-board the Prince, riding then in Dover road, where he dined, and was safely landed again, yet this evening we let slip from the Downs in very bad weather. The 5th we anchored in Bulloign road; the 10th we had a storm, the wind North-west, all our ships drove; we broke our best bower, and were forced to let go our sheet anchor, which put us to great danger of losing both men and boats. Sunday the 12th of June, all things prepared, and the storm allayed, about eleven o'clock we received our young queen; and, having a fair leading gale fit to entertain a queen, we sailed from Bulloign at one o'clock, and landed her at Dover before eight.

In 1627, I received warrant from the lord duke of Buckingham to go to Portsmouth, there to hasten the fleet out, which I did accordingly, taking my journey from Lambeth, August 1. During my stay at Portsmouth I saw many passages, and the disaster which happened to the lord duke.

In the same year his majesty gave me a blank for making a baronet, which was signed by his own hand. About the

beginning of June, 1629, by captain Pennington's procurement, I passed the baronet formerly given me by the king, for which the captain received for me £. 200. which he sent to Woolwich.

In 1630, towards the middle of February, there was a resolution, by his majesty and the lords of the Admiralty, to make an addition of assistants to the principal officers of the navy; Mr. William Burrell was one, and myself, by his majesty's appointment, the other, not without strong opposition, which not prevailing, there was a letter under his majesty's signet to the officers and ourselves to sit with them, to authorize us to proceed together in all business concerning his majesty's service, which was twice read at the public meeting in Mincing-lane. The 8th of March we took our places at the board, when it was concluded first to begin a general survey of the whole navy at Chatham, and all the stores within and without doors, and to put out by the great, as we should think fit, the repair of all the ships that were deficient; which was wholly recommended to Mr. Burrell and myself, and effectually performed by us, the work being put to Mr. Goddard, one of the master shipwrights, to be done by contract.

The 4th of August there was a great commission sent to Portsmouth for viewing the harbour and river running up to Farcham, for removing his majesty's navy to a more safe road; all the principal officers of the navy, with his majesty's masters of the navy, and six of the chief masters of the Trinity-house. There was much dispute and contrariety about the business, but at last a fair agreement was concluded. About the 23d of November I was sent to Portsmouth to enquire after the worm, which was reported to eat the ships in the harbour. Several master shipwrights being joined with
me,

me, we found upon oath that it was only a rumour to hinder the keeping of any of his majesty's ships in that harbour. At the end of December his majesty signed my patent for the place of a principal officer and commissioner of the navy, and January 19 following I had my letters patent read publicly at the navy-office in Mincing-lane. and accordingly took my place among them. The 26th they were publicly read before the whole navy men at Chatham.

The 21st of April, 1631, his majesty, with divers of the lords, *viz.* Treafurer, Chamberlain, marquis of Hamilton, Holland, and others, came to Woolwich to see the Vanguard launched, which was performed to his majesty's great content. I entertained them in my lodgings with cakes, wine, and other things, that were well accepted. His majesty commanded me into his barge with him, designing to see the St. Dennis at Deptford, in the dry dock, but, the rain preventing him, I was put into a pair of oars. On Friday morning the Victory, lying above the Vanguard, was launched out of the same dock,

In the beginning of the year 1632, I was commanded to assist my son Peter in building a new ship of eight hundred tons at Woolwich, which was begun in February, most part of her frame being made in the forest of Shotover and Stowk-wood, Oxfordshire. My son had the oversight of the work. About the 8th of June his majesty came to Woolwich to see the work; I entertained him in my lodgings, and attended his majesty to Deptford, where he landed to see the new ship built by Mr. Goddard.

The 30th of January, 1633, the new ship at Woolwich was launched, his majesty being present, and stood in my lodgings. It was fair weather, and a good tide, so the ship

was

was put into the water without straining the tackle, which much pleased his majesty, who soon after took his barge for Whitehall. The ship's name was Charles, after his own name. The next day Mr. Goddard's ship was launched; the king and queen were present, and was called after the queen's name, the Henrietta Maria.

1634. The Leopard, built at Woolwich by his son Peter Pett.

The 22d of June, a little ship completely rigged, gilded, and finished, was placed on a carriage, whose wheels resembled the sea, being enclosed in a great box, was sent in the Fortune pinn to London, and carried in a wherry to Scotland-yard, and thence to St. James's, where it was placed in the long gallery, where it was presented to the prince, who entertained it with great joy, being purposely made to disport himself withal. The 26th his majesty came to Woolwich in his barge to see the frame of the Leopard, then half built; and, being in the ship's hold, he called me aside privately, and told me his resolution of building a great new ship, which he would have me undertake; and said, you have made many requests to me, and now I will make it my request to you, to build the ship; commanding me to attend his coming to Wanstead, where he would farther confer about it. October 29th, the model of this great ship being finished, was carried to Hampton Court, and placed in the gallery, and then carried back to Whitehall, till his majesty's return thither.

March the 11th, 1635, his majesty came to Woolwich to see the new ship, built by my son, launched. I caused her masts to be set in the dock, and completely rigged her, having on-board ten pieces of ordnance, with the sails at the yards.

yards. The ship being launched betimes, she was, at his command, named the *Leopard* by Sir Robert Mansel. After she was clear out of the dock, his majesty came and stayed almost an hour on-board. We hoped to have failed her with his majesty on-board, but the wind came against us. The middle of April his majesty was pleased to renew my privy seal for my pension of £.40. *per ann.* payable in the Exchequer, with orders for all my arrears due on it; and May 8, my son Peter received the same arrears, being £.100.

May 14, I took leave of his majesty at Greenwich, with his command to hasten into the North to provide and prepare the frame, timber, plank, and treenails, for the new ship to be built at Woolwich; and having dispatched all warrants and letters concerning the business, and some impresses of moneys for travelling charges, I left Woolwich, and got to Chatham. I left my sons to see the moulds and other necessities shipped in a Newcastle ship, hired on purpose to transport our provisions and workmen to Newcastle, and to send the ship and take us in at Queenborough. Mr. Pette gives a circumstantial detail of this voyage, of the occurrences he met with in the North, and of his return home. At Stockton we found mean entertainment, though lodged in the maior's house, which was a mean thatched cottage. Lodged at the Post-house in Durham, with homely entertainment.—Attended the bishop of Durham with my commissions and instructions, whom I found wonderfully ready to assist us, with other knights, gentlemen, and justices of the county, who took care to order present carriage, so that in a short time there was enough of the frame ready to lade a large collier, which was landed at Woolwich, and as fast as provisions could be got ready, they were shipped off from Chapley-wood
at

at Newcastle, and that at Branspeth Park from Sunderland. The 30th of July we dined at Huntingdon, where I met my old acquaintance and noble friend Sir Oliver Cromwell. I lodged at the Falcon in Cambridge, and visited Emanuel college, where I was formerly a scholar. I passed the Ferry at Gravesend, August 4, on my return home.

November 4, my son Peter met me at Woolwich, where we gave orders for our proceedings. The 21st of December we laid the ship's keel in the dock, most part of her frame coming safe, was landed at Woolwich. The 16th of January, 1636, his majesty, with divers lords, came to Woolwich to see part of the frame and floor laid, and that time he gave orders to myself and my son to build two small pinnaces out of the great ship's waste. The 28th his majesty came again to Woolwich with the Palgrave, his brother, duke Robert, and divers other lords, to see the pinnaces launched, which were named the Greyhound and Roebuck. About the 10th of April his majesty's ship the Ann Royal, bound Admiral for the narrow seas, anchoring in Tilbury Hope, being unmoored, and shifting upon the flood, came foul on her own anchor, which pulled out a great deal of her keel abaft the mast, and in sinking suddenly was overthrown. Some of her company were drowned, and among them the master's wife and another woman. Myself, among others, was commanded by his majesty to assist the weighing her, which cost much trouble, great charge, and no small danger to those that were employed in it, which afterwards was objected to them as a fault, and they received a check from the lords. The ship was weighed, and carried into the East India dock at Blackwall, about the 10th of August.

The

The 3d of February, 1637, his majesty, the prince Elector, and divers lords, came to Woolwich by water, and after viewing the work without board, they did the same within board, both aloft and in the hold, being well satisfied. Then retiring to my lodgings, they staid till the flood, and then returned in his majesty's barge to Whitehall.

Tuesday the 29th of August proved very rainy, yet the shipwrights of the river, who were called to help to strike the ship on her ways, being come, we struck her by eleven o'clock. The 25th of September was the day peremptorily appointed by his majesty to launch the ship, so every thing was prepared to be in readiness. His majesty, accompanied with the queen, and all the lords and ladies their attendants, landed at Woolwich dock stairs about twelve o'clock, and went directly on-board the ship, where staying about an hour, they retired into our room, furnished for their entertainment. About two o'clock the tackles were heaved taught, and the ship startled till the tackles failed, and the water pinched, being a very bad tide. Then we shored the ship, and their majesties returned to Whitehall, very sorry she could not be launched. After attempting two or three tides, we concluded to stay till the next spring, the ship being so easy she could receive no damage. After our resolution of letting the ship remain till the next spring, which was about the 12th of October, in the interim many reports were raised to disable the ship, and bring as much disgrace on me as malice could possibly invent; all proceeding from the masters of the Trinity-house, and other rough hewn seamen, with whom Mr. Cook, one of four masters of his majesty's navy, anxiously adhering, to please Mr. Secretary Cooke, and Mr. Eddisbury the Surveyor of the Navy, all professed enemies to the building, and more to me,

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joined together to cast what aspersions, as far as they durst, for fear of the king's displeasure. But the spring coming on, Sir Robert Mansel called a meeting at Woolwich of such Trinity masters as were employed in the business, with all the officers of the navy, to resolve on the time of launching, which was generally concluded to be the Sunday following, being October 14, and that I should not attempt to stir her before. But the Saturday night, the wind chopping fair Westerly, promising a great tide, I caused the two masters of the navy to be ready, commanding all the hands we could on sudden to attend us, contrary to the mind of Mr. Cooke, who was unwilling to meddle with the ship in the night. But Mr. Aufiem, being the most resolute man, was for taking the first opportunity. The tide came on so fast that the ship was afloat by three quarters flood; so I ordered to heave her out, which done, and the ship brought into the channel by several warps, she was got to her moorings, lights being made all along the shore with reeds till the moorings were made fast to the bits; which done, I sent a messenger to Sir Robert Mansel at Greenwich, who came aboard with all speed, and, according to his majesty's order, called her *The Sovereign of the Seas* *. The next morning the Trinity masters and others came to give their attendance, but finding the ship at her moorings, they were much discontented, which they expressed as much as they could. This morning Sir Robert Mansel rode post to his majesty then at Hampton-court, and acquainted him with our proceedings, with which he was well pleased. The week following we reared our

* Not *The Royal Sovereign*, as styled by Mr. Willett in Memoir of British Naval Architecture, Archæol. vol. XI. p. 164. And in the Lists of the Navy, given at pp. 172, 174, there is, as I suspect, another ship mis-named, viz. *More Honour*, because in the Life of Petre he mentioned *Mr. Harwar*, i. e., as I imagine, *The Sea's Glory*.

sheers to set our masts, which were all done in fourteen days ; and as soon as the rigging was fixed, and the sails at the yards, we removed from Woolwich to Erith for depth of water. His majesty had been on-board before she removed thence. The 6th of June following, his majesty, with the queen, the duchess of Sheverees, duke and duchess of Lenox, and divers other lords and ladies, came on-board the ship at Greenhithe, where they dined. At their going away we gave them seventeen guns. About the 12th of June the Sovereign weighed from Greenhithe, and anchored below Gravesend, where she rode till his majesty came on-board, which was July 21. Whilst his majesty was on-board, he observed the condition of the ship, how she rode ready to fail, the draught of water, distance of the lower tire of ports from the water, number of guns, and other circumstances, to her complete furnishing, with which he was mightily pleased. I had placed my then wife, Byland, Daughter Fenn, and many other gentlewomen, my special friends, in the great cabin, to kiss his majesty's hand; and prevailing with his majesty to go aft into the cabin, he most graciously gave each his hand to kiss. Then he took barge, and we saluted him with seventy-two guns.

Thursday morning, September 27, I took leave of my family at Chatham and rode to Gravesend, there took boat to Woolwich, where I stayed one night, and with my son Peter went by water to Kingston, where we lay in a private house, the inns being full. The next day we went by water to Hampton-court, where we presented ourselves to his majesty, who used us very graciously, where we spent all the day ; at night returning to our lodgings at Kingston. The next morning we rode to Sion-house, to wait on the Lord Admiral, who presently commanded us to hasten to Chatham,

to prepare barges and boats to be sent to Dover to receive the Queen Mother expected there.

The Life of Mr. Phineas Pette is in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS, vol 6279 ; but it was from a copy that the preceding extracts were made, and I am not apprized whether the transcript I had contained the whole of the original MS. Supposing the memoirs not to be brought down to a later period than the year 1637, there are, as I apprehend, ten years of the life of the writer that are unnoticed, because I am apt to believe, that he may be the person who is thus entered in the register belonging to the parish of Chatham.

Phineas Pette, esq. and captain, was buried 21st August, 1647.

At page 282 of these extracts a note is inserted respecting a ship called *Mer Honneur*. In the underwritten passages in the life of Mr. Pette this ship is thus mentioned.

The latter end of July, 1612, I received orders to take charge of the building of the *Defiance*, then in the dry dock at Woolwich, old Mr. Baker having the charge of re-building the *Mer Honneur*, at the same time, in the same dock. About the middle of August Mr. Baker sickened, and perceived it would be his death, and was determined to recommend me to the finishing of the *Mer Honneur*, and to this end importuned me to ride to Windsor to the Lord Admiral, to signify his earnest suit to his lordship first, which I willingly consented to, and had his lordship's warrant at the same time for it, he dying the last of the month. The 25th of March, 1613, it pleased God to preserve my life aboard *Honneur*, being only going from deck to deck, narrowly escaped falling into
the

the hold, which would certainly have dashed me to pieces. The 14th of June, my honourable and implacable enemy, lord Northampton, died at his house at Charing-cross. The 1st of August, my gracious master king James, with the king of Denmark, came to Woolwich, and went aboard the *Mer Honeur*, that lying in the dry dock, and almost finished; which ship pleased them wonderfully. In the end of November, all the workmen that wrought on the *Mer Honeur* were discharged; the 6th the *Mer Honeur* and the *Defiance* were both launched in one tide; and the 25th of April following both sailed from Woolwich, and the next day came to their moorings at Chatham.

“I am informed, writes Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, under article Kent, that the mystery of shipwrights for some descents hath been preserved successively in families, of which the Pettes about Chatham are of singular regard.”

From *Memoir on British Naval Architecture*, by Ralph Willett, esq. *Archæologia*, vol. XI. article XVIII, p. 176.

Extract from Heywood the Historian's description of the Sovereign.

“The prime workman is captain Phineas Pette, overseer of the work, whose ancestors, father, grandfather, and great grandfather, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, have continued in the same name, officers and architects in the Royal Navy.” As this ship, observes Mr. Willett, was built in 1637, the account would carry something like a regular establishment as far back as 1437, the reign of king Henry the Sixth. However, it is a remarkable account of this family,

family, especially as I can farther add, that the same family made a distinguished figure in the same line, and the same office, in the king's yard to the end of William the Third. But to return to Heywood. "The master builder is young Mr. Pette, who, before he was twenty-five years of age, made the model, and perfected the work: the master carvers are John and Matthew Christmas, &c."

Quere. Was not Peter the fifth son of Phineas Pette, the young Mr. Pette alluded to by Mr. Heywood?

Of this son there is this notice in the MS Life of Mr. Pette. "1610, August 6, my wife was delivered of her fifth son."

See other notices of Peter in these extracts.

Copy of Passages in the Life of Mr. Phineas Pette, in which he has mentioned his relations.

I Phineas Pette, being the son of Mr. Peter Pette, of Deptford Strond, in the county of Kent, one of her majesty's shipwrights, was born in my father's dwelling-house in the same town, November 1, 1570.

In the year 1589, about the 6th of December, it pleased God to call to his mercy my revered loving father, whose loss proved afterwards my utter undoing almost, had not God been more merciful to me, for, leaving all things to my mother's directions, her fatal matching with a most wicked husband, one Mr. Thomas Num, a minister, brought a general ruin to herself and family.

At Candlemas, 1599 (after leaving Emanuel college in Cambridge), I was contented, by the instant persuation of my mother, to put myself to be an apprentice to become a shipwright, my father's profession, and was bound a covenant servant to one Mr. Richard Chapman of Deptford, one
of

of her majesty's master shipwrights, and one whom my father had bred of a child to that profession.

My eldest brother by my father's side, Mr. Joseph Pette, succeeded in my father's place, one of her majesty's master shipwrights; which preferment God brought him to, the better to have enabled him to have given his help to us, but we found clear contrary.

To my setting out to sea, in 1592, I found none of my kindred so kind as to help me with either money or cloaths, or any other comfort, only another brother I had by my father's side, Peter Pette, then dwelling at Wapping, that vouchsafed me lodging, meat, and drink, till the ship was ready to sail.

We, extreme poor, returned for Ireland into the river of Cork, and taking leave of both ship and voyage, I travelled to Diveling, to visit my uncle Thornton, and my brother Noah, being then master with him in the Popinjay of the queen's majesty, and presently after bent my course to England.

With some difficulty, I got to London three days before Christmas, 1594, having neither money nor apparel, and took up my lodging at my brother Peter Pette's house in Wapping, who, although I was returned very poor, yet vouchsafed me kind entertainment. The next day I presented myself to my brother Joseph, who received me very coldly, yet of his bounty sent me forty shillings to apparel myself. About 1594, it so fell out, that there were certain of his majesty's ships appointed to be made ready for the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, amongst which the *Defiance* was to be brought into Woolwich dock to be sheathed, which being committed to my brother Joseph's care,

care, he was content to admit me, amongst many others, to be one, where I was contented to take any pains to get something to apparel myself.

In 1593, the new building of the Triumph was appointed to my brother Joseph's charge, with whom I a while continued, but finding him unwilling to prefer me in his work, as next under him, with some passage of discontent betwixt us, I left him.

After I was discharged from the Repulse, my brother Joseph entertained me at Woolwich upon the Triumph, which ship I wrought till her launching, and the discharge of men from her, and afterwards was employed at my brother's at Linchouse, upon a small model for my Lord Treasurers house at Theobalds.

In the beginning of the year 1597, my dear and loving mother deceased, at Weston in Suffolk.

About Bartholomew next following, the Elizabeth Jonas was brought into her majesty's dock at Woolwich, and there was the first preferment my brother Joseph helped me to, making me principal overseer of that business under him. During all the time of this work, we both lodged and dined at old Mr. Lydiard's in the yard.

I was married to my now wife Ann, the daughter of Richard Nichols, of Highwood Hill, in the parish of Hendon in Middlesex, a man of good report, and honest stock, the 15th of May, 1598, at Stepney church.

Mr. Pette, under the year 1599, relates the very ill treatment which his three sisters received after the death of their mother from their father-in-law, Mr. Thomas Num, who, for a very slight offence, furiously fell upon Abigail the eldest, beating her so cruelly with a pair of tongs and a fire-brand,
that

that she died within three days after the beating. He mentions, that, upon complaint to a justice, the body, which had been privately buried, was taken up, and so, by the coroner's inquest which passed upon her, and miraculous tokens of the dead corpse, as fresh bleeding, sensibly opening one of her eyes, and other things, he was found guilty of her death, and so committed and bound over to answer the matter at the next general assizes to be held at Bury, which was in the Lent after. In his arraignment, Sir John Popham, then lord chief justice of England, and chief judge of that circuit, shewed such true justice, (notwithstanding great interest was made for him, not only by his friends, but by the clergy of that county), that all his cruelty and wicked proceedings were laid open, and he convicted of man-slaughter by the jury; was committed to sue for the king's pardon, from whence being shortly freed, by God's just revenging hand, he lived but a short time after.

Upon the occasion of my being placed at Chatham, in 1600, my brother Joseph and I were reconciled, and ever after lived together as loving brethren. By means of his encouragement, I took a lease of the mansion-house at Chatham for twenty-one years, paying £. 25. income, which lease was sealed to me October 17. The 24th, having bestowed all my poor stock upon the lease of my house, and furnishing the same in some convenient manner, I shipped the same in a hoy of Raynam, and so moved to Chatham, myself going down in the hoy, where I missed a great danger, for, at the west end of the Nore, about three o'clock in the morning, about the 28th day, we were were likely to be surprized by a Dunkirk piccaroon full of men, who being at our passing by (although it was very dark) at an anchor, suddenly weighed and gave chase, and had boarded had not God prevented him

by our bearing up, the wind being at East, and running ourselves ashore within the Swatch, [quere, the Swale ?]

1601, March 23, my wife was delivered of her first-born son, John; died in 1628.

1603, March 18, my wife was delivered of her second son, Henry; died September 22, 1612.

This year happened the great plague throughout England, but especially at London. The sickness being very hot at Chatham, upon the persuasion of some of my friends, I removed (August 16) my wife and children from thence to my wife's father's, in Middlesex. They remained at Highwood Hill till the 3d of October.

I divers times solicited my brother to be joint-patentee with him; but his remissness caused me to slip the opportunity.

1604, during my attendance at court as his grace's (the prince of Wales's) captain of his ship, it pleased my honourable Lord Admiral to give orders to Sir Thomas Windbank, one of the clerks of the signet, to draw me a bill for the reversion of Mr. Baker's, or my brother Joseph Pette's place, which should first happen.

1605, my eldest brother, Joseph Pette, died November 19. Presently after my brother's decease, it pleased my very good lord, the Lord High Admiral, to grant his warrant for my entrance into my brother's place, to the effect of my letters patent.

1606, my third son, Richard Pette, born June 21.

1608, my fourth son, Joseph, born April 27.

1610, August 6, my wife was delivered of her fifth son; [Quere, Peter?]

1611, My eldest and first daughter was born October 15. [Quere, Anne?]

1614,

1614, October 9th, my wife delivered of a son, Phineas; died October 28, 1617.

1617, April 15, my wife was safely delivered of twins—daughters, Mary and Martha. Mary died November 21, 1617.

1618, January 24, my wife was delivered of a son, Phineas.

1620, May 14, my wife was delivered of her eleventh child, the last she had, a son, Christopher.

1623, After the Prince and the rest of the fleet were all fitted and prepared for the voyage to Spain, the St. George and Antelope fell down to Gillingham, being both appointed to go before to St. Andrew, with the jewels and other provisions, the noble gentleman, my honourable friend, commanding her, whom my eldest son, John, attended as one of his retinue.

1625, July 14, my eldest son, John, was married to Kharine, the daughter of Mr. Robert Yardley, deceased.

1627, February 14, being Wednesday, and Valentine's day, my dear wife Anne died in the morning, and was buried the Friday following in Chatham church, leaving behind her a disconsolate husband, and sad family.

This summer my son was made captain of a merchant ship, and served under Sir Sackville Trevor at taking the French ship called the St. Esprit.

1627, in July, I was contracted to my second wife, Mrs. Susan Yardley, Mr. Robert Yardley's widow; the 16th we were married at St. Margaret's, by Mr. Franklyn.

1622, July, my son John was made captain of the Six Whelp, built by my cousin Peter Pette, making choice, by the Duke's leave, of any one of the ten small ships built for the enterprize of Rochelle, with one deck and quarter only, to row as well as sail; I took that for my son, supposing she would prove best, but it fell out the contrary.

I received warrant from my lord duke *to go* to Portsmouth, there to hasten the fleet out; which I did accordingly, taking my journey from Lambeth, August 1, having my son Richard, &c. The 4th of September my son John took leave of me in the evening, and went on-board his ship, whom I never saw afterwards, he being unfortunately cast away in the return from Rochelle; both ship and men perished in the sea, as was supposed foundered in the storm, which was a great affliction to myself, and his wife, left big with child. She was delivered of a son, Phineas.

1629, November 27, my son Richard died at Woolwich, and was buried in the church chancel the next day. He was my eldest son living, a very hopeful young man, and for his years an excellent artist, being bred up by me to my trade.

1633, April 11, my son Peter made his first visit to Mr. Cole's eldest daughter, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, whom he married. About the middle of August my son Peter had orders to prepare moulds for the frame of a new ship of one hundred tons, to be built by him at Woolwich, and was ordered his timber out of the store of Shotover, Oxon.

1634, The Leopard built at Woolwich by his son.

1634, in the month of February, the James, built by nephew Peter Pette, was launched at Deptford, his majesty being present, where I attended all the while.

1635, March 11, his majesty came to Woolwich to see the new ship built by my son launched. She was named the Leopard.

1635, November 4, My son Peter met me at Woolwich, where we gave orders for our proceedings in building the new great ship (The Sovereign of the Seas).

1636, April 25, My daughter Martha was married at Chat-ham church to John, some time my servant, accompanied with the better sort of my neighbours, who were entertained

in the garden under a tent set up on purpose, where we dined and supped.

On the 21st of July, I brought my wife from Woolwich to Chatham, having been ill some weeks, but was then, to our thinking, very cheerful ; but on Monday morning she fell into a sweet sleep, and so died, and was buried the next Wednesday. Mr. _____ preached her funeral sermon.

The 8th of September his wife sickened with a fever, being big with child, and the 19th she died. Her Christian name was Mildred, there being this entry concerning her in the parish register ; " Mildred, wife of Phineas Pette, esq. was buried the 20th of September, 1638."

After the death of his dear wife Anne, Mr. Pette did not remain quite half a year a disconsolate widow ; nor could many months have passed between his wife Susan's falling into a sweet sleep, and his marrying Mildred, whose surname and connections are omitted in the MS.

Sir Phineas Pette, who was resident commissioner of the navy at Chatham in the reign of Charles II *, was probably the son of Phineas Pette, mentioned by his father to have been born January 24, 1618. Sir Phineas was commissioner in 1667, the year in which the Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway and destroyed several ships. In the ensuing year he was impeached in the House of Commons, on a charge of inattention to the security of this harbour ; but the Parliamentary prosecution was soon dropped, it being well known, that the culpable neglect was not in him, but in the king, who

* Dr. Wallis, in his letter, April 7, 1662, to Sir Robert Moray, prefixed to *Conocuneus*, or the Shipwright's Circular Wedge, mentions, that the solids and lines, made by the sections thereof, were proposed to his consideration by Mr. Pette, one of his majesty's commissioners for the navy, and an excellent shipwright.

had

had idly squandered the large sums of money granted for the national defence.

Peter Pette, the nephew, mentioned by his uncle Phineas as the builder of the James at Deptford in 1634 (*Extracts*, p. 292), was probably son of the kind brother, Peter Pette of Wapping, with whom the Memorialist occasionally boarded and lodged (*Extracts*, p. 219); and I am apt to believe the nephew, Peter, might be the father of Peter Pette, who was educated at St. Paul's school, and became afterwards a member of Sidney college in Cambridge, and of Pembroke and All Souls colleges in Oxford. He was also a student of the common law at Gray's Inn; and, being appointed advocate-general to king Charles the Second in Ireland, was chosen a member of the House of Commons in that kingdom, and at length received the honour of knighthood from James duke of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant. In the account given of him by Mr. Knight in the *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 407, he is thus described:

“Peter Pette, son, grandson, and great grandson, of Peter Pette (which last, who was grandson of Peter Pette. of Cumberland, had been master-builder in the Navy Royal to queen Mary, and afterwards to queen Elizabeth), was born at Deptford in Kent, &c. &c.

Mr. Willett (see before, p. 285), from what Heywood, the historian, had advanced concerning the Pettes, has inferred, that of the family there were persons in a regular line of descent, who were shipbuilders of eminence in the service of the crown from the reign of Henry VI. to the end of the reign of William the Third. But, as I conceive, the passage just cited from Knight's *Life of Dean Colet* will not warrant the ascending to so early a period by near a century. For, if I rightly understand the parenthesis, it implies, that Peter Pette,
father

father of Joseph and of Phineas, as well as of Peter Pette, was master-builder to queens Mary and Elizabeth ; and what is farther mentioned of Peter Pette the father is, that he was grandson of Peter Pette of Cumberland, without noticing what was the occupation of the grandfather. But, supposing the grandfather to have been a shipwright, is there any evidence of there being in the reign of Henry VI. or in the 15th century, any dock-yard in Cumberland, in which he could have held the office of a principal naval architect to the king ?

Extracts, p. 247. " I was called personally to answer, and "*kneeled* right before his majesty, near the side of the table."

Page 249. " All this time I sat on my *knees*, baited by the " great lord and his bandogs ; albeit the prince's highness laboured to have me eased by standing up, but his majesty " would not permit it."

" Page 255. " This day, as it was a very tedious day to me, by reason I was to answer all objections, and *kneel* so " long together, &c."

To kneel, so as to rest the muscular part of the body on the heels, is a ceremony used in the East, as expressive of the greatest humiliation, and therefore suitable for a devout worshiper in a solemn act of devotion to his Creator. The propriety of this submissive and servile homage from man to his fellow-creature may, however, be thought very questionable, especially when, from the long continuance of it, it must be productive of much fatigue and pain, as was the case in this instance. But James was in his disposition and conduct more like a despotic Eastern potentate than the sovereign of a free people. To dispute what a king might do in the height of his power, as he told his parliament, was as seditious as it was blasphemous to dispute with God. And, though only pre-
fiding

siding on the trial of a shipbuilder on a charge of insufficiency, he could not forbear reminding his auditors, that he was in the seat of God, as his representative and substitute. Of the kind of homage he imposed upon the presumed delinquent, a contemporary monarch judged very differently, this anecdote being related of Gustavus Adolphus: "When the town of Landshut in Bavaria surrendered to him at discretion, the principal inhabitants fell down upon their knees before him on presenting to him the keys of their town. "Rise, rise," said he, "it is your duty to fall upon your knees to God, and not to so frail and feeble a mortal as I am *."

Page 163. "After midnight the weather was very sore o'er-cast, and a very sore gust of rain, thunder, and lightning, which made me doubt there were some *indirect practices among our enemies to dash our launching.*"

Mr. Pette seems to have suspected, that his implacable adversaries might have invoked the wayward sisters, "with whom fair is foul, and foul is fair," to exercise their spells and charms in harrassing him; nor ought his credulity to be a matter of surprize, as the influence of witchcraft was at that time a prevailing notion; and king James himself, who was by his courtiers termed the Solomon of the age, had contributed to strengthen a belief of this superstitious opinion, by his learned elaborate system of Dæmonologie.

In a person who has the honour of being F. S. A. it may be deemed somewhat invidious to observe, it was not a mark of the supereminent wisdom of this prince, that he had so unfavourable an opinion of Antiquaries as to suppress their original Society soon after his accession to the throne †.

SAMUEL DENNE.

* European Magazine, July, 1794, p. 35.

† Archæol. vol. I. Introduction, p. xiv.

XXIV. *A Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. Bart. President of the Royal Society, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, &c. concerning the Lives and Writings of various Anglo-Norman Poets of the 12th Century. By the Abbé de la Rue.*

Read February 4, 1796.

SIR,

I Have already intimated, in my Dissertation upon the Works of Robert Wace, that the French are indebted to England, and its monarchs, for the most eminent poets that we know of in their language. It will be the purpose of that which I have now the honour to present you with, to expatiate more at large upon this fact; not that I undertake to decide upon a question oftentimes discussed, but never yet resolved, concerning the original founders of the French Parnassus. I shall not dispute with the natives of Picardy the honour which has been conferred on them by Monsieur Fontenelle [a]; nor attempt to deprive the Troubadours of the palm which the Abbé Millet has adjudged to them [b]; and, though myself a Norman, I shall not unite with Monsieur de la Ravalliere in demonstrating, that my coun-

[a] Fontenelle, *Hist. du Theatre François*. vol. III. p. 11. edit. of 1758.

[b] Millet, *Hist. des Troubadours*.

trymen have been the fathers of French poetry [c]. It little becomes me to lay down a positive opinion upon so important a subject. With respect to Monsieur de Fontenelle, I shall only remark, that it was not sufficient to advance opinions without proof or foundation, as he has done. Before he could expect the public to adopt them, he ought to have maintained their accuracy, either by monuments left by the poets of Picardy, and anterior to those of the poets of other provinces, or at least by some kind of historical evidence.

To the Abbé Millot I shall readily acknowledge, that his *Troubadours* are indeed of great antiquity; but then they wrote in a language which never was that of the French nation; and therefore his great learning, and generous efforts in favour of the Provençals, can never operate in diminution of the merit or antiquity of the Norman and Anglo-Norman Poets.

And, lastly, I shall beg leave to observe to M. de la Ravalliere, that although the evidence of history, and the remains of Norman and Anglo-Norman poetry, equally valuable and numerous, attest to us, that even in very antient times those people had penetrated into the sanctuary of the Muses, yet these proofs in their favour amount, after all, but to strong probabilities; to which I shall add, that in order to judge decisively in this case, it becomes necessary above all things to shew, that the other provinces of France, where their language was used, had not likewise *their* particular poets, and that time has not deprived us of their works and of those of such historians as might have noticed them: in a word, that without this certainty the celebrated question,

[c] *Poésies du Roi de Navarre*, vol. I. pp. 166, 196, 261, & 262.

concerning the original cultivators of the French Muse, can never be determined.

But, as in the present instance even mere probabilities contribute greatly to the honour of a nation, which, in those obscure ages, produced men in whose compositions the Muses were by no means neglected, I have thought it incumbent upon me, Sir, to present you with the fruits of my researches relating to several of the Anglo-Norman poets of the 12th century.

The Normans imported with them from the North a peculiar taste for poetry; and, from the moment in which Neustria was ceded to them by Charles the Simple, they began to familiarize themselves with the language of the country, and to transplant it into their songs. Of this it is easy to find proofs in almost all the ages which followed this event; for, although these ancient monuments of French literature are no more, history has very carefully preserved their remembrance.

A long time before the Conquest, Thibaut de Vernon, canon of Rouen, translated into French verse the lives of Wandrill, and many other saints held in reverence by the Normans [d]. The minstrel Taillefer, at the head of the Norman army, announced the moment of the celebrated battle of Hastings, by chanting the song of Charlemagne and Roland; and, repeating this composition, the troops marched on to victory [e]. After the combat, again did the Normans express by songs their love for their victorious leader; and in this manner celebrated his triumphs [f]. When the conqueror divided with his followers the fruits of his victory, a

[d] *Acta ord. St. Bened.* vol. III. p. 379.

[e] *Polychron. Ranulph. Higden*, lib. III.

[f] *Gul. Piclav. Hist.* apud. Duchesne, p. 193.

minstrel named Berdic, and attached to the court, was rewarded with the gift of three parishes in Gloucestershire [g].

Under the reign of William Rufus we only find *Sirventes*, or *Serventois*, a sort of satyrical songs, made by the Normans against Arnold of Caen, then chaplain to Robert Courthofe, and afterwards patriarch of Jerufalem [b].

Under Henry I. the poets were rewarded, by his queen Matilda, with the most splendid presents, according to the testimony of William of Malmfbury [i]. At the same period, according to Robert Wace, the Norman poets sang the achievements of their antient dukes; and the same author has related many historic facts which he had collected from them in his infancy [k].

Under this prince also these minstrels, as we are informed by Ordericus Vitalis, recited the life of St. William; and, as they had changed many facts in it by virtue of a poetical licence, the historian declares, that he had corrected and restored them after a manuscript of Antony of Winchester [l]. About the year 1112, when the Chevalier de Bechadie de Laftour in Limoufin was desirous of writing in French verse his poem on the taking of Jerufalem, he consulted above all men Gaubert the Norman, both with respect to his style and the vulgar tongue, which he had made choice of for the purpose of presenting his work to the public; a proof that Normandy was then in possession of men celebrated for this employment [m].

[g] Domestday book, Gloucest. [b] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 120.

[i] Will. Malmfb. Hist. lib. i.

[k] Wace, *Roman de Guillaume Longue espée*.

[l] Ord. Vital. Hist. p. 598.

[m] L'Abbé, *Nova Bibl.* vol. II. p. 296.

And,

And, lastly, the Chevalier Luc de la Barre had the boldness to write a satire against Henry I. for which the enraged prince caused his eyes to be put out; a dreadful punishment, but which serves to shew either an excessive fear of ridicule in the monarch, or the dangerous consequences that might result from satire amongst a people who delighted so much in poetry [n].

It is to be lamented, that time has deprived us of the works of these authors during the first age of French poetry; it has even obliterated almost all their names; and it is only during the early part of the 12th century, that we begin to discover any of the monuments left by the Anglo-Norman poets. According to the best of our ability, we shall detail these in chronological order.

PHILIPPE DE THAN.

Philippe de Than, or, as the name was then written, *Philip de Thaun*, or de *Thaon*, is the most ancient Anglo-Norman poet whose works have reached us. We believe this author to have been of the ancient family of the lords of Than, proprietors of the estate of that name, three leagues from Caen, in the diocese of Bayeux.

The first work of this poet is intituled *Liber de Creaturis*; it is a treatise of practical chronology in French verse. The author treats of days, of weeks, of solar and lunar months, of the phases of the moon, of eclipses, of the signs of the Zodiac, and in general of all that is necessary for the intelligence of ecclesiastical computations. He explains, with tole-

[n] Order, Vital. Hist. p. 180.

rable precision, the various calculations of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, the history of the calendar of Numa Pompilius, and that of its reform by Julius Cæsar; he often cites Pliny, Ovid, Macrobius, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, venerable Bede, &c.; he relates the various opinions of those authors, who, like himself, had laboured at ecclesiastical computations, but whose works have not come down to us, or have remained in libraries, such as Johannes de Garlandia, Turkill, Hilperic, Nembroch, &c.

Philippe de Than composed this work for the use of the clergy, and dedicated it to Humphry de Than his uncle, chaplain to Hugh, seneschal to the king. This Hugh could only have been Hugh Bigod, seneschal to Henry I. and afterwards earl of Norfolk. His father, Roger Bigod, came to England with the Conqueror, and had been seneschal to that monarch, as well as to his son Henry [6]: but, as he died in 1107, and his son Hugh immediately succeeded him in that office [7], we are of opinion, that the work of Philippe de Than must be placed after that period; and the rather, because he does not bestow the title of earl upon Hugh Bigod; an honour, which he did not acquire until a long time afterwards, but only that of seneschal. Humphry de Than is called his chaplain; and it is well known, that from that period it was the custom of the English barons to have chaplains, who were particularly attached to them [8].

The second work of Philippe de Than is intituled *Bestiarius*. It is a treatise in French verse upon beasts, birds, and precious stones. It is dedicated to queen Adelaide of Louvain,

[6] Wace, Roman de Guill. I.

[7] Order. Vital. Hist. p. 833.

[8] Kennet's Parochial Antiquities and Glossary, v. *Capellanus*.

whom Henry I. married in 1121; so that this work is to be placed after that period. The Benedictines fix it about the year 1125; but in the course of its perusal we have perceived nothing which contributes to ascertain this date with precision. Without any hazard of contradiction therefore, a date, either anterior or posterior to that presumed by the Benedictines, may be assigned to it.

Philippe de Than, with respect to a great part of this work, performs only the office of a translator. He allows that he had extracted his ideas from a treatise called *le Bestiaire*, written first in Latin, and of which a manuscript copy in that language is to be found in the library of Mr. Douce, a member of the Society of Antiquaries.

In translating this work into French verse, the poet seems to have had no other motive than the instruction of mankind, and the correction of their morals. After having described the particular character of each beast and bird, he deduces from every description a moral, which is always adapted to excite his readers to the practice of civil and religious virtues. In a word, throughout all his designs, he endeavours at once to instruct and improve mankind, whilst he develops the most interesting particulars of natural history.

With respect to the kind of poetry which Philippe de Than has used, we believe it would be difficult to find any authors who have adopted it. His method does not consist in making one line rhyme with another, but one half with the other half; or what may be called two hemistichs, as in the following verses of his first work;

“ Al bufuin est truvé, lami é epruvé,
Unches ne fud ami, qui al bufuign failli.

Pur:

Pur cel di ne targez, mes ma raison oiez ;
 Prei vus del esculter, e puis del amender."

Or in these verses of his second work, in which he describes the address of the hedgehog in carrying off the grapes from the vine :

" El tens de vendenger, lores munte alpalmer,
 La u la grappe veit, la plus meure feit,
 Sin abat le raifin, mult li est mal veisin,
 Puis del palmer descent, sur les raifins festent,
 Puis defus se volupe, ruunt cume pelote,
 Quant est tres ben chargez, les raifins enbrocetz,
 Eissi porte pulture, a fes fiz par nature."

It appears that our poet had borrowed his taste from the Latin versifiers of his time, who, for the most part, wrote in this bad style. Of this we may be easily convinced by reading the poem of Marbodius bishop of Rennes upon St. Mary the Egyptian ; his verses on Odo bishop of Bayeux, &c. [1] ; or the elegy of Serlon Paris, canon of Bayeux, addressed to the same Odo upon his quitting the prison in which he had been five years confined by the Conqueror ; his satire against Gilbert abbot of Caen ; his poem on the siege of Bayeux in 1106 [2] ; or, lastly, in going through all those epitaphs composed by the Norman and Anglo-Norman poets of the 11th and 12th centuries, which are to be found in Dumoutier, Sandford, and Ducarel [3].

Both the works of Philippe de Than are to be found in the British Museum among the Cotton MSS. Nero A. V. That relating to ecclesiastical computation is, with respect to a

[1] Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. A. XII.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Neustria pin, passim. General. Hist. of the Kings of England, passim ; Anglo-Norman Antiq. passim.

large part of it, at the beginning and end of a MS belonging to the library of the duke of Norfolk in that of the Royal Society, N° 230.

The Benedictines have taken upon them to criticise this author without having even read him, or known any thing relating to him, but from the notice of his works in the catalogue of the Cotton MSS, fol. 48. Hence very much uncertainty, and even mistakes, in their opinion of this writer. At first, not comprehending the word *Thaonensis*, they conceived it should be read *Touarceus*; they have consequently intitled Philippe de Than, *Philippe de Thouars*; and, instead of a Norman, have made him a Poitevin [1].

Upon farther reflection, however, and perceiving at the same time their correction of the Cotton manuscript was too hasty, and founded upon a mere conjecture, which could not be supported by any kind of proof, they have admitted that the addition of *Than*, which had only appeared extraordinary to them from being misunderstood, ought to remain; but having discovered a charter of the 12th century, in which Thomas de Than was named as a witness, with several other noblemen [2], they concluded that this Thomas was either the son or grandson of our poet; and, as the charter which he had so witnessed related to the estate of Combourg in Bretagne, upon the confines of Normandy, they have declared, that there was reason to believe Philippe de Than was a Breton [3].

From what has been said then, it will be perceived that many conjectures have been shewn to be ill-founded; but,

[1] Hist. Litter. de la France, vol. IX. pp. 173, 190.

[2] Martene Thesaur. Anecd. vol. I. p. 624.

[3] Hist. Litter. de la France, vol. X. p. LXXI.

with a very trifling knowledge of the ancient French poets, one may discover in every page, that the Benedictines were entirely ignorant of this branch of our literature, and that their criticisms upon most of the other poets are equally superficial with those upon Philippe de Than.

SAMSON DE NANTEUIL.

This poet translated the Proverbs of Solomon into French verse, with a metrical gloss far more ample than the text. He appears, in his prologue, to have been a man well versed in the knowledge of authors of the purest Latinity, and delighting above all things in the works of morality left us by the ancients. He consequently often cites Horace, Cicero, Juvenal, &c. as authors very familiar to him.

He composed this translation of the Proverbs at the instance of Adelaide de Condé, whom he calls his *lady*, and for whom he professes as much attachment as he does respect for her virtues. She was the wife of Olbert de Condé, and was the owner of Horncastle in Lincolnshire [*u*]. She lived under Henry I. and Stephen, and, as well as her son Roger de Condé [*w*], gave many benefactions to the priory of St. Mary at Rufford in 1148. Her castle was rased at the end of the reign of Stephen [*x*]; and in the first year of Henry II. Horncastle fell into the hands of the king, who gave it to Gerbaud de l'Escaut, a Flemish knight [*y*]; so that the pe-

[*u*] Mon. Angl. vol. II. p. 645. Camden's Britannia, by Gough, vol. II. p. 229.

[*w*] Thoroton's Nottingham, p. 370.

[*x*] Camden, loco citato.

[*y*] Rot. Fin. 6 Hen III.

riod in which Samson de Nanteuil composed his works must be placed under the reign of Stephen.

This writer used only verses of eight syllables; and, as his mind was wrapped up in works of morality, his style is almost always sententious. This may be seen by the beginning of his prologue;

“ A tort se lait murir de faim,
Ki asez at è blé et pain;
Turner li pot lum a peresce
Se ne sen paist u a feblesce;
Sil fameillet è ne se païsse,
E par desdeing murir se laïsse,
De cels est dunc, si cum jeo crei.
Ki al mulin muerent de sei.
Pur nent irreit conquere en France,
Ki suffraite at en habundance, &c.”

This work is in the British Museum among the Harleian MSS, N° 4388.

G E O F F R O I G A I M A R.

This poet is known only by a history of the Anglo-Saxon kings written in French verse, and continued to the reign of William Rufus. In my dissertation upon the Life and Writings of Robert Wace, I had asserted after Mr. Tyrwhitt [2], that this poet had had a continuator of his Brut in Geoffrey Gaimar; and, consequently, that the latter wrote after the

[2] *Canterbury Tales*, vol. IV. p. 62.

former. But, in examining myself the history of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Gaimar, I discovered that this work is anterior by several years to the history of the British Kings by Wace.

In the first place, Gaimar assures us, that in order to compose his Anglo-Saxon history, he had been obliged to collect materials for it during a considerable time; to resort for them to Latin, French, and English, manuscripts; and that he had found much difficulty in procuring them: he even confesses, that he should have never succeeded unless Constance Fitz-Gilbert had assisted him in his researches. He informs us, that this lady sent to Hamlake, in Yorkshire, to a then celebrated baron named *Walter Espec*, for the purpose of engaging him to borrow from Robert of Caen earl of Gloucester, the history of the British Kings, which he had caused to be translated from the books of the Welch. This work the earl lent to Walter, and he to Ralph Fitz-Gilbert, who put it into the hands of Constance his wife [a].

We find then, that Geoffrey Gaimar composed his work chiefly from others translated from Welch manuscripts. But as Walter Espec died in 1153 [b], Robert earl of Gloucester, in 1147, or, according to others, in 1146 [c], and Wace did not write his Brut till 1155, we are to look upon the work of Gaimar as anterior to that of Wace, and with reason to conclude, that the former author cannot be considered as the continuator of the latter.

In short, what serves completely to demonstrate the truth of this opinion is, that Geoffrey Gaimar speaks of queen Ade-

[a] Gaimar, at the end of his Anglo-Saxon History, Bibl. Reg. 13 A. XXI.

[b] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 590.

[c] Bishop Lloyd's Letter on Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 72.

laide of Louvain as then living; and we know from the chronicle of Thomas Wikes, that she died in 1151 [*d*]. Besides, the poet assures us at the end of his Anglo-Saxon history, that he had been more than a year in composing it from the various manuscripts which he had borrowed, and therefore it is more than probable, that his work should have at least preceded one year the death of the earl of Gloucester.

It must not be concealed, however, that in the only manuscript of the works of Gaimar that we know of, and which is preserved in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 13 A. xxi. Wace's Brut is placed at the beginning, and followed by Gaimar's Anglo-Saxon history. But the history of the British Kings ought naturally to precede that of the Anglo Saxon; and accordingly this arrangement is properly adopted by the transcriber of the manuscript, and there is no reason to infer upon this account that Gaimar wrote after Wace. An exact copyist, without attending to the ages of the authors, would in the first instance transcribe into his manuscript the work of Wace, which deduced the history of England from its beginning, and then insert that of Gaimar, which was a necessary and indispensable addition.

Again, if we minutely examine in the manuscript before cited, the part belonging to Gaimar, it will be impossible not to perceive more and more that he could never have been regarded as a continuator of Wace. Indeed, he formally declares at the end of his work, that he had begun it with the Conquest of the Golden Fleece by Jason; and, as in what remains he only begins with the reign of the first Anglo-Saxon king, we may conclude that he had translated the history of the British kings into French verse, as well as that of the

[*d*] Tanner, *Notitia Monast.* p. 557.

Anglo-Saxons; and that we do not possess a complete copy of his work.

Another reason, no less strong in itself, will serve to establish this fact. The poet assures us that the Brut of Walter archdeacon of Oxford, translated into Latin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, had been much *amended*; this is his expression in his own work; that he had corrected it by two manuscripts which he cites, and of which we know nothing more, that is to say, a history of Winchester, and a book written in English, called *The Book of Waffinburc* [e]. Now, to have thus corrected the archdeacon of Oxford's Brut, Gaimar must necessarily have written concerning the history of the British Kings: for, to say that an author's work has been corrected, is as much as to declare, that either new facts have been inserted, or those rectified which were before inaccurate; and to add, that in correcting it, a translation has been made into French verse, amounts to a positive assertion, that the same work has not merely been used, but a new one made.

In short, if the beginning of the history of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Gaimar be attentively examined, his opinion will appear to be, that it ought to be preceded by his history of the British Kings; of which he resumes the last recitals, in order to connect them with the new details which he is about to give; he recalls them to his reader's attention, to apprize him of the affinity between the two histories; but unfortunately the allusion to the first part of his work is the only remembrance of it that has been preserved. The transcriber of the manuscript in the royal library, for some reason that is not apparent, preferred copying the Brut of Wace to that of

[e] Waffinburgh, in Lincolnshire.

Gaimar; and, as the former had only translated the history of the British Kings, the copyist completed the work by adding the Anglo-Saxon history of the latter.

Amongst the sources resorted to by Gaimar for composing his two histories, we have already mentioned the Brut, the History of Winchester, and the English Book of Washinburgh. He also cites Bede and Gildas, and mentions John of Beverley; but we are still ignorant of the French and Welch books, of which he only speaks generally, and in which he tells us he had found many historical facts.

As the second part of his work extends only to the reign of William Rufus, he announces, that it had been his intention to add the history of Henry I. his successor; but that the materials being very ample, he designed to write it separately, and upon a much more extensive scale than had already been done by other historians. We are not informed whether the poet performed his promised task; but no separate history of Henry I. in French verse is now remaining that we know of.

Amongst the things worthy of remark which have been related by Geoffry Gaimar, it is incumbent on us to notice, as particularly connected with the Norman poets, the ideas he has furnished us with concerning the profession of the minstrels in William the Conqueror's army. The office of Taillefer was not alone confined to the singing of the song of Charlemagne and Roland at the head of the Norman army; the poet informs us, that advancing on horseback towards that of the English, the minstrel three times cast on high his lance in the air, and received it as often by the point; that the fourth time he threw it against his enemies, one of whom he wounded; that afterwards, he drew his sword, and, darting it

as before three times in the air, he caught it again with such address, that his adversaries could not help regarding these flights of hand as miraculous, and the effect of enchantment ; that at length, after these manœuvres, he galloped full-speed towards the army of the enemy, and, precipitating himself amidst the ranks, he laid on furiously upon each side of him, thereby giving to the Normans the signal of battle.

The verses made use of by this writer are in lines of eight syllables. His style is much more clear than that of preceding poets, and his diction simple and fluent, as in the following verses, wherein he describes the dexterity of the minstrel Taillefer in throwing and catching his lance and sword.

“ Armes aveit et bon cheval,
Si est hardiz é noble vassal,
Devant les altres cil se mist,
Devant Engleis merveilles fist ;
Sa lance prist par le tuet,
Com si co fust un bastunct,
Encontre mont halt la geta,
Et par le fer receuc la
Trais fez issi geta sa lance,
La quarte feiz mult pres savance ;
Entre les Engleis la lanca,
Parmi le cors un en naffra.
Puis treist f'espee, arere vint,
Geta f'espee kil tint,
Encountre mont puis la receit,
Lun dit al altre ki co veit
Ke co esteit enchantement,
Ke cil sefait devant la gent,
Quant treiz. faiz out gete l'espee,” &c.

DAVID.

D A V I D,

A poet contemporary with the former, and who lived, like him, under Stephen; but his writings have not come down to us. We know him only from the very honourable mention made of him by Geoffrey Gaimar at the end of his history of the Anglo-Saxon kings. According to this author's testimony, David composed an abridgment of the Life of Henry I. in French verse, which appears to have been undertaken by the desire of Adelaide of Louvain, the second wife of that king. Gaimar informs us, that he had seen some of the poet's verses set to music.

Although David was an excellent *trouvreur*, according to Gaimar; although his poems were dispersed every where, read with delight by queen Adelaide, and held in such repute, that Constance Fitz-Gilbert had been obliged to pay a mark of silver, *ars et pesé* [*s*], to have them transcribed; nevertheless Gaimar reproaches him for having forgotten many things, the remembrance of which would have done great honour to the king's memory.

He also admonishes him to revise his work, and tells him, that, should he decline it, he will himself take up his pen, and publish a more ample life of Henry, whom he styles the best of kings, whose virtues, nobleness of mind, magnificence, and a thousand other actions that would immortalize him, he wishes to see detailed with more splendor than they ever had been.

[*s*] *i. e.* Tried by fire as to the alloy, and weighed. T.

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We

We know not whether David yielded to the pressing solicitations of Gaimar, or if the latter, upon his refusal, celebrated more at large the actions and defects of Henry Beauclerk ; at least, except the work cited by Gaimar, we are not acquainted with any French poetry upon this sovereign which has fallen from the pen of either of these writers.

B E N O I T.

He lived under Henry II. This king, according to the testimony of Robert Wace, had enjoined him to translate into French verse the history of the dukes of Normandy. A task so flattering leads us to imagine, that he was already known by other works, in which he had displayed a distinguished talent for poetry. Wace, emulous to deprive him of the glory of the undertaking, hastily composed his several Romances of the dukes of Normandy, which he had already brought down to duke Richard II. and completed the history of the dukes of that province a long time after Benoit had finished his. But the latter, far from giving up a race wherein his rival had already got the start of him, redoubled his ardour, and fulfilled the wishes of the monarch.

His work begins with the irruption of the first Normans under the conduct of Hasting and Bier, surnamed *Ironside*. The author passes on to Rollo first duke of Normandy, and to his son Longsword, and connects their history. That of duke Richard I. forms a separate work ; those of duke Richard II. Richard III. Robert, and William the Bastard, likewise constitute particular works ; and, lastly, those of the three children of William are united in one.

The collection which forms these various histories consists of nearly 23,000 lines of eight syllables. The author often presents us with certain turns and images which are truly poetical. Of this an idea may be formed by his description of Spring, at the beginning of which Rollo quitted England for Neustria.

“ Quant li ivers fu trepassez,
Vint li duls tens e li estez,
Venta l'aure fuevé e quoie,
Chanta li merles e la treie ;
Bois reverdirent e prael,
E gent florirent li ramel,
Parut la rose buen olanz,
E altres flors de maint semblanz.”

Benoit frequently observes, in the course of his work, that he had no other object for its publication than the pleasure of Henry II. He celebrates the love which this prince had for the Belles Lettres, and his elegant and refined taste in judging of the merits of the writers of his age ; and concludes his account of the first irruption of the Normans with the following lines :

“ Avantage ai en cest labur,
Que al soverain e al meillur,
Escrit, translat, truis e rimei,
Qui el mund sei de nule lei ;
Qui meux connist oeuvre bien dite,
E bienfeant e bien escrete,
Deus mi dont faire son plaisir,
Kar cest la riens que plus desir.”

It is easy to ascertain the time in which this poet composed his histories of the dukes of Normandy, by means of Robert Wace, who speaks of him as his contemporary. Both these writers mention the translation of the body of duke Richard II, which Henry II. caused to be made to the abbey of Fescamp in 1161 [g]; so that each must have written after that period. Wace, in another place, mentions, that he had seen the young prince Henry, son of Henry II, crowned king; which event not having taken place before 1170 [h], it must have been subsequent to that year that Benoit finished his histories of the dukes of Normandy.

Mr. Warton has asserted, that this work abounds with fabulous and romantic events [i]; but it was incumbent upon him to have brought some proofs in support of an opinion, which, without them, appears to us to be entirely given at random. Indeed, if this author be compared with the historians who have preceded him, such as Dudo of St. Quentin, William of Jumieges, William of Poitiers, Ordericus Vitalis, &c. we shall find, throughout his work, the most exact conformity with those writers, both in his narrations, and the connection of his facts. Wace himself, although a rival, coincides with him in historical details. It is true, that he has the advantage of him in a clearer and conciser diction; but, on the other hand, we find in Benoit information as curious as it is extensive concerning the manners and customs of the Normans; the court of their dukes; their costume, and the ornaments of their palaces; their public and domestic life; and, in short, upon an infinite variety of other

[g] Chron. Norm. apud Duchesne, p. 998.

[h] Rog. Hoveden Annal. ad an. 1170. Edit. Savile.

[i] Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. II. p. 235.

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subjects, of which not the slightest knowledge can be collected from any other source.

It must be owned that we have not ourselves been able to discover in Benoit's work more fables than are usually met with in the writers of that age. He has put into French verse what had been written in Latin before his time, and even in the age he lived in. When he departs from other historians, it is solely for the purpose of describing more fully the manners and character of the Norman nation, and its leaders; and even upon this occasion his work becomes more interesting. It is impossible, for instance, to read without the most lively emotions the recital of the loves of duke Robert and Harlotta, the mother of the Conqueror. Of their first interview Benoit has left us a detail so much the more impressive, as it describes the extreme simplicity of the manners of that age. In a word, this poet is the *only* writer who has preserved these valuable memorials of the birth of William the Bastard; and we are persuaded, that Mr. Warton has pronounced his opinion of this author in a manner which at least induces a supposition, that he has not understood him.

Benoit's history of the dukes of Normandy is among the Harleian manuscripts, N° 1717. It has remained unknown to all the French writers who have treated of the ancient poets. At the end of this manuscript there is a song, or rather canticle, set to music, upon the advantages of the crusade. It is an invitation to the barons to take up the cross. There is no indication for what Crusade it was composed, but the style proves it to be of the time of Benoit, that is, near the end of the reign of Henry II, or the beginning of that of Richard Cœur de Lion. As it is found at the end of the works of our poet, it may readily be ascribed to him; nor do we think, that
in

in adopting this opinion we incur any risque of deviating from the truth. Besides, it is certainly the most ancient specimen of this sort of poetry that has been transmitted to us by the Anglo-Normans. This canticle is composed of seven stanzas, and each stanza of seven masculine verses of ten feet; the four first verses of every couplet consist of mixed rhimes; but the rhyme is always the same in each couplet. It is a piece that has escaped the researches of the learned Dr. Burney, in his History of English Music. Mr. de la Borde, in his Essays upon Ancient and Modern Music, has not exhibited any thing of this kind in the French language of equal antiquity. If Mr. Warton had been acquainted with this canticle, as well as with the songs in the Royal Library, 16 E. viii. in the Harleian manuscripts, N° 3775, &c. he would not have asserted so positively, that all the works of the Anglo-Norman *Trouvours* perished with the ancient castles of those barons for whose pleasure they were composed.

The song upon the crusade, which we imagine to have been composed by Benoit, contains some stanzas which indicate a rich and brilliant imagination, that could upon occasion assume even a sublime style, although the author had but a harsh and almost barbarous language, wherewith to convey his ideas. Of this an opinion may be formed from the following stanza:

“ Cunte ne duc, ne li rois corune,
 Ne se poent de la mort destolir,
 Kar quant il unt grant trefor amasse,
 Plus lur convient a grant dolor guerpir,
 Miels lur venist en bon vis departir,
 Kar quant il unt en la terre bute,
 Ne lur valt puis ne chatel ne cite.”

We

We cannot prevail on ourselves to agree with the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt, that amongst the works of Benoit is to be reckoned a Life of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in French verse, still remaining among the Harleian manuscripts, N° 3775. The author of this piece appears to have been an English monk, likewise named Benoit. The style and form of it oblige us to place it as low as the reign of Edward III [†].

Still, however, as we have before remarked, in order to have induced Henry II. to invest Benoit with the glorious task of composing, in French verse, the History of the Dukes of Normandy, it became necessary that the poet should have been previously recommended by distinguished talents, and, of course, by such works as would have intitled him to be classed amongst men of letters. A life of Thomas Becket would not, most assuredly, have recommended him to the monarch; and the poem upon the Crusade, of which we have just spoken, does not appear to us a sufficient claim whereon to found a literary reputation; a song could but at best give a very slight idea of a man's talents; and Benoit would necessarily have begun with works of more importance to induce the king to honour him with the office of the French Historian of the dukes of Normandy.

Under this persuasion, we do not hesitate to consider him as the author of the History of the wars of Troy in French verse. It is true, however, that, in the beginning of this work, the author styles himself Benoit de Sainte More.

“ Ceste hystoire n'est pas usee,
Ne en gaires de lieu trouvee,

[†] Warton, loco citato.

Ja

Ja retraite ne fust encore,
 Mais Beneois de Sainte More ;
 La comencie et faite et dite
 Et a ses mains la toute efcrite."

But the surname of St. More does not invalidate our opinion. It is clear, that there was a family of this name in England under the reign of Henry II. The chronicle mentioned by Leland cites Hugh, William, and Jocelin de St. More [1]. Besides, the poet simply calls himself Benoit in the body of the work which we ascribe to him, as well as in his History of the Dukes of Normandy.

" Des or porreis oir hui mes,
 La trefime bataille apres,
 Beneois qui l'estoire a dite,
 Oies coment il la descrite."

Neither this poet, or his writings, were known to Fauchet. Mr. Galland, in speaking of this history of the Wars of Troy, places it after the Brut of England, by Wace ; and we believe this chronology to be sufficiently exact. He cites two passages from this poem, but with extreme inaccuracy, as will appear from a comparison with those we have transcribed [m]. Mr. Warton has copied Mr. Galland's quotations, but without correcting them after the manuscript in the British Museum, which we may therefore presume could not have been known to him [n].

The History of the Wars of Troy, by Benoit, is to be found amongst the Harleian manuscripts, N° 4482. It is in verses of

[1] Lelandi Collect. vol. I. p. 287. 2d Edit.

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. vol. II. p. 729.

[n] Warton's History of English Poetry.

eight syllables, and contains near twenty thousand lines. The author professes to have translated from the Latin; and, to raise the merit of the original work, he begins with depreciating that of Homer upon the same subject: he says, that this writer is not faithful, inasmuch as he was not an eye-witness of the events which he describes, and did not live till a hundred years after the taking of Troy; that when he came to Athens to read his work, the citizens would have condemned him for having imagined his fabulous combat of the Gods with men; that his poem was considered as the production of a madman, and at length rejected; but, adds Benoit, Homer possessed so many talents, that he afterwards succeeded in persuading the Athenians to receive his work, and it became of authority amongst them.

To substitute in the room of Homer an author of greater veracity, Benoit has invented other fables: he informs us, that one Dares, a native of Troy, who had very much distinguished himself during the siege of that city, wrote a journal of the famous war of ten years; that this work was for a long time lost, but that Cornelius, the nephew of Sallust the historian, having recovered it at Athens, translated it out of Greek into Latin. From this Latin translation it is that Benoit professes to have given his French version. He adds, that he had also made great use of the work of Dictys, who, fighting in the army of the Greeks, had written the history of their battles, in like manner as Dares had the achievements of his Trojans.

Whatever be the opinions of the critics upon the history of the siege of Troy by these apocryphal writers, as they all agree, that their works existed in the 12th century, and that they were again enlarged in the 13th by Guido of Co-

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lonna,

lonna, a civilian of Messina, we are more and more convinced that the translation of them into French verse, is the work of our Anglo-Norman poet. Besides, the frequent allusions which he employs, when, to give additional lustre to his Norman Dukes, he compares them with his Greek and Trojan heroes, leave us no room to doubt, that he had celebrated the exploits of all of them. Thus, when Harlotta laments her distress upon quitting her relations to go to the castle of Falaife, the poet commiserates her because she was unable to anticipate the greatness of the hero to whom she was about to give birth, and who was to equal that of Hector; and, to raise the glory of the Conqueror, who in one day, and by a single battle, obtained the crown of England, the poet recalls to mind the useless efforts of the kings of Greece combined for the space of ten years against a single city.

There are likewise to be found in this poem passages which exhibit a rich and fertile imagination, together with the most lively and animated descriptions that indicate a truly poetical genius. Nothing can be more cheerful than the description of the spring in which Jason embarks for the conquest of the Golden Fleece.

“ Quant vint el tens qu’ivers devise,
 Que l’erbe vers point en la rise,
 Lorsque florissent li ramel,
 Et doucement chantent oïsel,
 Merle, mauvis et loriol,
 Et Estornel et Rossignol;
 La blanche flors pent en lespine,
 Et reverdoie la gaudine,

Quant

Quant li tens est douz et fouez,
Lor partirent del port les nez, &c."

G U E R N E S.

This poet was an ecclesiastic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy. His work is a Life of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, in French verse. It appears that he began it in France; and he candidly acknowledges, that, for want of proper information, he has filled it with untrue fabrications. Desirous, however, of becoming better acquainted with the truth, that he might insert nothing else in his work, he went to Canterbury in 1172. There he sought after all those persons who had known St. Thomas in private life, even those who had served him in his infancy, and likewise the eye-witnesses of his public life, both as chancellor and primate of England; and upon their testimony he began composing his work. This was very much advanced when his secretary stole his manuscript, and disappeared with it. The poet was less chagrined at this loss than at the idea of putting forth a work which he had not completed, and which besides, as he himself confesses, was not rigorously faithful as to facts. He was also much concerned at the probability that his name might cover untruths, and that even the rich might purchase at a very dear rate a work which was not either sufficiently polished or refined for the public taste. Nevertheless, so far from being discouraged by this unlucky robbery, the poet resumed his work, and, redoubling his zeal for collecting historical facts, completed it in 1177.

T t 2

Guernes

Guernes himself has furnished us with these details in the prologue to his work. He also informs us, that he had several times publicly read it at the tomb of the archbishop. This proves, that at that time the Romance tongue was understood in England, even by the common people. The taste for works in that language appears to have been so general, that, according to the testimony of the same author, laymen as well as clerks, monks, and even women, composed in it lives of the archbishop; but he at the same time assures us, that the greater number of these histories were not conformable to truth. It appears also, that he thought them ill written; yet, as to his own work, he adds, that although it was composed in England, its style was pure, and its language correct, the author being born in France.

The work of Guernes of Pont St. Maxence is in the British Museum among the Harleian manuscripts, N^o 270. This volume is the more valuable as it contains a work corrected by its author, and is also most probably the only copy existing. The sort of poetry used by this writer appears to be peculiar to him. His work, which consists of more than 6000 lines, is divided into stanzas of five Alexandrines, all in the same rhyme. It is uncertain whether Guernes adopted this method in order that his verses might be the more easily chanted; though this opinion seems to be very probable. To give an idea of the form and groundwork of his poetry, we shall transcribe two of his stanzas. He begins with that which follows:

“ Tuit li physicien ne font ades bon mire,
Tuit clerc ne sevent pas bien chanter ne bien lire;
Asquanz des Troveurs faillent tort a bien dire,

Tel

Tel choisist le mialz qui le mienz quide eslire,
E tel quide estre mieldre des altres est li pire."

When he speaks of other works which have been written on the same subject as his own, he thus delivers his opinion of them :

" Tut cil autre romanz quunt fait del martyr
Clere u lai muine u dame mult les oi mentir,
Ne le veir ne le plain ne les i oi furnir,
Mais ci purrez le veir e tut le plain oir,
N' isterai de verite pur perdre ne pur murir."

With respect to the manuscript which was stolen from our author, we have discovered in the Cotton library, Domitian, A. XI. several fragments, which appear to have been copied from it in the 13th century. Amidst these shapeless remains one really perceives the first essays of our poet, whom the transcriber calls *Gerveis* instead of *Guernes*. Several of the stanzas are absolutely the same as those in the Harleian manuscript; others again are either more correct, or differently given; at the same time, upon comparing the two manuscripts, one is soon convinced that the plan of the first work is differently arranged from that of the second.

Such, Sir, are the fruits of a part of my researches concerning the Anglo-Norman poets. But this letter having already attained to a great length, I think it right to put an end to it in this place. The subject, however, being extremely ample, and at the same time very honourable to the English nation, I pledge myself to continue its discussion in other dissertations. It is much to be lamented, that the domestic avocations of Mr. Moyfant, an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, have prevented him from assisting me
in

in the history of French poetry amongst the English. His information upon this subject would have been of great service to me ; but I shall not on that account persevere with less zeal in endeavouring to prove that England formerly had its *Trouveurs* as well as Provence its *Troubadours*.

I remain, Sir,

with the greatest Respect,

your very humble and obedient Servant,

D E L A R U E.

London,
June 10, 1795

Professour Royal of History at Caen.

XXV. *Discoveries in a Barrow in Derbyshire. In a Letter from Hayman Rooke, Esq. to Mr. Gough,*

Read February 11, 1796.

Mansfield Woodhouse, February 1, 1796

DEAR SIR,

I Have ventured to send you a little account of some remains lately found in a barrow in the Peak of Derbyshire.

About the latter end of last winter, Mr. Robert Needham, jun. of Ashford, a very respectable farmer, who rents an estate of the duke of Devonshire, was induced to destroy a large barrow for the sake of procuring a great quantity of lime-stones, of which it was chiefly formed.

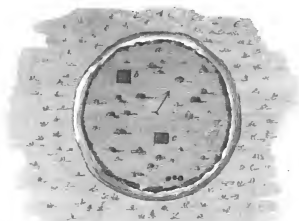
Having been informed that this barrow contained some curious remains of antiquity, I sent to desire Mr. Needham would preserve the relics, and not proceed to a farther search in the barrow (which I was told had not been entirely cleared), till I came to examine it; and he very obligingly assured me, that he had already taken care of the antiquities, which he would reserve for my acceptance, and that the barrow should not be touched. It is but justice to the politeness of Mr. Needham to mention this instance of his readiness to assist the Antiquary in his researches.

I went twice last summer to examine the barrow, which is situated on the summit of a hill that has a gradual rise from the South-east, and at about two miles North-west from Ashford. This hill is called *Fin Cop*. These are evidently British names, with but little variation from their radicals *Fyn* and *Coppa*; the former in the ancient Cornish and British language signifies an end, or a boundary, which this hill has on every side, and *Coppa* the top or summit.

At about seventy-two yards South-east of the barrow is a work thrown up, with a ditch on the inside of the vallum, which surrounds the top of the hill except on the North-west side, where there is a precipice fourteen yards from the barrow; at the distance of one hundred and sixty yards beyond this work is another ditch and vallum, where the ditch is on the outside.

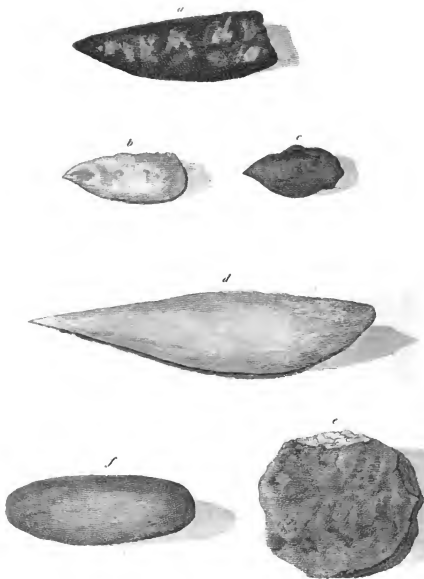
Fig. (a) in PL. XLVIII. is a plan of the barrow after I had cleared away more of the sides; circumference one hundred and sixty-one feet. It had been raised to a considerable height, and formed with lime-stones of various sizes, mixed with a very fine dry mould. In the bottom at (b) and (c) are two kistvaens; (b) is cut into the solid rock, which incloses three sides, on the other is a flat stone, and one of the same kind was placed on the top; the kistvaen (c), which is rather smaller than the other, was formed in the natural soil, with flat stones fixed in the sides, and one in the bottom. See a perspective view of these at (d and e).

In the kistvaen (b), was a skeleton placed with its face downwards, and on the top of the scull was an oblong piece of dressed black Derbyshire marble, which plainly appeared to have been fixed to the scull by a strong cement, part of which now adheres to the stone and scull. Under the head were found two arrow-heads of flint, the size of the draw-



A Plan of the Barrow on Tin Cap, with perspective views of the two Vestments and piece of black marble.

8-2



Relics found in a Burrow on Tin Cop, the size of the originals.

fig. (a) and (b) in Pl. XLIX. This kistvaen was only two feet nine inches by two feet and one foot nine inches deep. The black stone (f) in Pl. XLVIII. which was placed on the head, is two feet in length, nine inches broad, and six inches thick.

At the South-east end of the barrow three urns, of very coarse baked earth, were found nearly together, full of ashes and burnt bones, but so much decayed that they fell to pieces in taking up. I measured a fragment of the top rim of one, which did not appear to have been more than six inches diameter, but, from another fragment of a rim, the urn must have been much larger; on the top of one was a flint head of an arrow, the size of (c) in Pl. XLIX.

At the East end of the barrow two more skeletons were deposited on the level ground. With these was picked up the spear head (d), Pl. XLIX. which is shaped out of a piece of lime-stone, and made very sharp at the point.

The flat circular stone (e), Pl. XLIX. was taken out of the kistvaen (b), Pl. XLVIII. It has a thin body of stucco on both sides; the top is of a yellowish colour, and plainly appears to have been varnished. This possibly might have been some ornament to the dresses of those rude times in which this body was inhumed.

The smooth stone (f), Pl. XLIX. was found on the top of one of the urns. It differs only in shape from the common boulder stones, which, though usually met with in sandy grounds, are not to be found in the Peak on a lime-stone soil. It is therefore probable, that the superstitious Britons might have preferred these kind of stones as scarce and valuable amulets; and I am more inclined to be of that opinion from having,

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some years ago, met with two stones similar to this deposited with some others on Stanton-moor.

The preservation of the teeth, in the jaws of these skeletons, which still retain their ivory, is very remarkable; the bones also are but little decayed. This might probably be owing to the very light dry earth with which they were covered.

The kistvaen (c), Pl. XLVIII. was full of ashes and burnt bones, and possibly was the spot where the bodies might have been burnt.

The bones were thrown promiscuously in, and the principal care seems to have been in placing and fixing the piece of marble to the scull, nor, indeed, was there room for the body to be deposited at full length. It is probable, therefore, that the body might be burnt, and the bones collected and placed in the kistvaen; for, I should imagine, whilst there is the least moisture left in the body the bones would not be damaged; but where we find the bones reduced to a very fine powder in urns, we may conclude that they were burnt over again by themselves after the body was consumed: but I shall leave this to the learned Society, who will, most probably, form a more plausible conjecture.

I am much inclined to think that this elevated spot, thus secured by a double fence, may be the site of a British town or fortress, and that the barrow was the sepulchre of the chieftain and his relatives. There evidently appears to have been more attention paid to the bones inhumed in the kistvaen (b), than to any of the rest, from this singular instance of a piece of black marble being fixed on the scull. As this kistvaen is too small to admit of the body at full length, may we not suppose that the body was first burnt, and the ashes deposited in the kistvaen (c), which seems to have

have been designed for that purpose, and the head and bones placed by themselves, as above mentioned ?

It seldom happens, that interment and urn burial are to be met with in the same barrow. The former is undoubtedly the most ancient, and has been handed down to us by sacred history and authentic records. We find also, that the practice of burning the body was of great antiquity, and here the same ancient weapons were found deposited with both ; I therefore think there is great reason to suppose, that this barrow was of very remote antiquity.

The reverend Mr. James Douglas, in his learned and elegant Sepulchral History of Great Britain, speaking of these arrow-heads of flint, says, " They are evidences of a people " not in the use of malleable metal ; and it therefore implies, " that, wherever these arms are found in barrows, they are " incontestibly the relics of a primitive barbarous people, " and preceding the æra of those barrows in which brass or " iron arms are found *."

If you think this little memoir will be acceptable to the Society, I must beg you will do me the honor to present it to them.

I am,

Dear Sir,

your sincere

and obliged humble Servant,

H. R O O K E.

* *Nænia Britannica*, p. 154, note 3.

XXVI. *Description of a Tablet, from the Arundelian Collection. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read March 12, 1795.

S I R,

I Take the liberty of sending you the inclosed * for the inspection of the Society. I purchased it out of what was called the Arundel collection, which was sold at the conclusion of the sale of the dutchefs of Portland's museum in the year 1786. From the letter which accompanied this little tablet (if it may be so called), it appears, that it was found in Essex, but unfortunately we are not informed in what part of the county. This, therefore, prevents the attaining any clue to discover who was the original owner, though I should conceive it highly probable that it belonged to some religious house. Though the letter contains no date, the names of lord Oxford and Mr. Wanley, which are mentioned in it, are so well known to the Society, that the period when it was found may well be conjectured.

On the outside of the tablet, which is of silver gilt, are represented various figures of saints, among which we may discover St. Christopher, St. John, St. Lawrence, St. Philip, St. James, St. Apollonia, St. Catharine, St. Margaret, St. Matthias, St. Anne and the Virgin, and St. George. The compartments on the inside, which are enamelled †, I imagine, represent The Annunciation, The Salutation, Joseph and Mary, The Na-

* See Plate L.

† The enamel on the outside is worn off.
tivity,

Size of the Originals.



An Ancient Tablet.

tivity, The Angel appearing to the Shepherds, The Wife Men's Offering, The Circumcision, or the presentation in the Temple to old Simeon, The Flight into Egypt, Our Saviour's Discourse with the Doctors, The Marriage in Cana, The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, Our Saviour's Resurrection, His Ascension, The Descent of the Holy Ghost, God the Father, crowning the Virgin, and her Assumption.

This little tablet undoubtedly formed one of the appendages to an altar. As to its antiquity, from the dresses of the female figures, and from the armour upon the figure of St. George, I conceive it to be about the time of Edward III.

I am, Sir,

your humble Servant,

Temple,
March 5, 1795.

P. H. LEATHES.

XXVII. *The Accompte of Sir Edward Waldegrave *,
 Knighte, oone of the Qwenes Highnes Prevy Councile,
 and Mr. of ber Ma^m greate Wardrobe. Aswell of
 all Receiptes of Monye, of Clothes, of Golde Velvetts,
 and other Sylkes owte of the Qwenes Ma^m Stoor. As
 also of all the Empe'ons, Provissons, and Delivereis for
 the Buryall of the late famows Prince of Memory
 Kinge Edwarde the Syxte of that Name, who departed
 from this transitory Lyffe the Syxte Daye of Julye, in
 the 7th Yere of his Reigne, and was buryed the 8th
 Daye of Auguste, in the firste Yere of the mooste prosper-
 ous and victorius Reigne of owre mooste dradd Sove-
 reigne Lady Marye, by the Grace of God Qwene of
 Englnode, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendor of the
 Faythe, and of the Churche of Englonde and Irelande,
 in Earthe the Supreme Hedd. Communicated by Craven
 Ord, Esq. F. A. S. from the Original in the Exchequer.*

Read January 16, 1794.

FURSTE, received by the sayde S^r Edwarde ℥. s. d.
 Waldegrave, knighte, of S^r Edmonde Peck-
 am, knighte, highe treasorer of the Qwenes
 Highnes Mynttes, by vertewe of oone war-
 raunte. Dated in the Tower of London,
 the 14th daye of Julye, the furste yere of her
 mooste gracious reigne, in preste towerde the
 expenes of the sayde buryall. 1300 0 0

* Sir Edward Waldegrave married Frances daughter of Sir Edward Nevill, knight. He was made one of the knights of the carpet by the earl of Arundel after queen Mary's coronation, and held many valuable offices during her reign. Queen Elizabeth committed him to the Tower, where he died September 1, 1561, and was buried at Borley in Essex.

Clothes of golde tishewe, clothes of golde velvetts, and other fylkes received by the sayde S^r Edwarde Waldegrave, knighte, for the use of the sayde buryall, of S^r Rauffe Sadleir, knighte, of the Qwenes Highnes stoore.

Clothe of golde and fylver tishewed withe

golde and fylver	—	20 yards qr. di.
Clothe of golde purple	—	51 yards di. di. qr.
Clothe of golde blacke withe woorkes		23 yards
Velvett blewe jeane	— —	3 yards 3 qrs.
Satten white at 11s.	—	4 yards
Damaske blewe	— —	2 yards qr.
Damaske Crimfin	—	2 yards qr.
Sarfcinet grene	—	3 yards 3 qrs.
Sarcinet whyte at 5s. 8d	—	3 yards qr.

The Charges of the Buriall of the late famos Prince of Memory Kinge Edwarde the Syxte, aswell of the Empec'on of Velvetts and Blacke Clothes, Cottons, as other Nc'c'yes, for the Ufe of the faide Buriall as shall apere.

The hearffe within the chapell at Whytehawe.

Thomas Stacye, for 32 yardes of blacke velvet jeane for to cover the hearfe rownde abowte above the majestye clothe, and fowre pooftes of the faide hearfe of twoo breddes of velvett at 11 yardes longe, to^t 22 yardes; and for the fowre pooftes 10 yardes, to^t 32 yardes; price the yard 15s.

£. s. d.

24 0 0
Thomas

Thomas Stacye, for 14 yardes of blacke farf- cinnett for one majestye clothe to hange in the hearfe at Westm', price the yarde 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	£. s. d. 3 0 8
Laurence Ball, for 6lb. 11 ounces di. of frendge of Venice golde for the saide ma- jesty, price the lb. £.4. 8 <i>s.</i> price the ounce 7 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	30 12 4
Itm, for 4lb. one ounce di. of blacke fylke frendge, for the same cause, price the lb. £.1 4 <i>s.</i> price the ounce 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	4 18 3
Thomas Stacye, for 12 yardes 3 qrs. of blewe velvett do'ble jeane for the coveringe of the coffyn wherin the co'pes laye, pryse the yarde 18 <i>s.</i>	11 9 6
John Grene, for coveringe the same withe the same velvett, price ingrofs withe nayles and workemanshippe	1 0 0
Itm, for 2000 gylte nayles for the garnish- inge of sayde coffyn, price the 1000 ^d 20 <i>s.</i>	2 0 0
John Pincherdon, serjeaunte plumber, for leade fooder, workemanshippe, and attend- aunce geven for the coffyninge of o' Sove- reigne Lorde Kinge Edwarde the Syxte to him ordinarily dewe.	10 0 0
Thomas Stacye, for 48 yardes of blackevelvett do'ble jeane for one pawle to laye upon the coffyn standinge within the hearfe at the Kinges Palaice of Whitehawle, within the chappell there, of 6 yardes longe, and 8 breddes, price the yarde 16 <i>s.</i>	38 8 0
Black velvet jeane at 15 <i>s.</i>	32 y'ds.
Black farfcnet at 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	14 y'ds.

Yet

Yet for the said hearfe.

Of the Qwenes floore 3 yarde 1 qr. white	£.	s.	d.
farfcinettt for parte of banners and stand-			
erdes, price the yarde 5s. 8d.	—	0	18 5
Of the fame floore 3 yards 3 qrs of grene farf-			
cinett, for the fame caufe	—	<i>fine precio.</i>	

Thomas Stacye, for 24 yarde qr. of blewe			
farfcinettt for parte of fix cooates of armes			
and banners, and standerdes, price the			
yarde 4s. 4d.	—	5	5 1

Itm, of him, 31 yards di. of redd farfcinettt,			
for the fame caufe, price the yard 4s. 4d.		6	16 6

Of the Qwene's store 2 yards qr. of crimfon			
damask for one cooate of armes		<i>fine precio.</i>	

Itm, of the faide floore 2 yarde qr. of blewe			
mask for one cooate of armes	—	<i>fine precio.</i>	
	p stauro	0	18 5

So'ma £. 138 8s. 9d.	p nova		
	empe'oe	137	10 4

A clothe of estate of blewe velvet.

Thomas Stacye, for 35 yards of blacke vel-			
vett do'ble jeane for one clothe of estate of			
4 breaddes and 7 yarde long, withe 7			
yarde of velvett for the valaunce, parcel			
of the faide 35 yarde, price the yarde 18s.		31	10 0

Itm, of him, 6 yarde qr. of blewe velvett			
do'ble jeane for three qwish'ons, twoo of			
them of one yarde qr. long, and one			
qwishon of di. yard di. qr. longe, price the			
yard 18s.	—	5	12 6

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Yet in the said cloth of estate.

Itm, 10 yards qr. of blewe velvett do'ble jeane for coveringe part of two chayers for the said clothe of estate, price the yard 18s.	£. s. d. 9 4 6
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Of the Qwenes stoore 3 yards 3 qrs. blewe velvett do'ble jean for covering the other parte of the sayde chayers	<i>fine precio.</i>
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Laurence Ball, for 32 ounces of purple sylke frendge for frenginge the said clothe of estate, price every owncce thereof 2s.	3 4 0
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Itm, for 26 ounces di. of purple sylke frendge for the saide twoo chayers, price the owncce 2s.	2 13 0
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Thomas Chappell, for making the said clothe of estate, price	0 16 8
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Itm, for blewe lyor for the said clothe of estate	0 3 0
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Itm for 18 yardes di. of blewe buckeram for lynynge the said clothe of estate, price therd 8d.	0 12 4
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Itm, for making of three qwish'ons of vel- vett, price the pece makeinge 1s.	0 3 0
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Itm, for three yardes of white tyke for the said 3 quish'ons, price the yard 2s. 4d.	0 7 0
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Itm, for 18 lb. of fethers for the fylling of the said 3 qwish'ons, price the lb. 8d.	0 12 0
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John Grene, for coveringe of the said twoo chayres of tymbre withe velvett, for nayles, woorkemanshippe, and other necc'yes to them, price	4 8 4
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Som'a £.59. 6s. 4d. p nova empc'oe.

The

The canapye of blew velvet.

Thomas Stacye, for 17 yarde of blew velvet do'ble jean for oone canapye to beare over the corpes in the chariott from the Kinges palace unto Westm' church, of 4 breaddes and 3 yarde longe, the valaunce of one qr. depe, conteigninge 5 yarde at 18s.	£.	s.	d.
	15	6	0
Thomas Chappell, for makinge the said canapye of blew velvet, price	0	10	0
Itm, for 21 yarde of fatten of bruges for lynynge the faide canapye, price therd 2s. 4d.	2	9	0
Lawrence Ball, for 2lb. 8 ownce di. of purple fylke frendge for the faide canapye, price the lb. £. 1 12s. price the ownce 2s.	4	0	12
Thomas Chappell, for lyor for the same, price Som'a £. 22 7s. 4d. p nova empc'oe.	0	1	4

Hatchementts and maunteletts.

Thomas Stacye, for one yarde di. of black velvet do'ble jean for the furniture of hatchementts for the Kinge, price the yarde 18s.	1	7	0
Of the Qwene's stoore 4 yarde blacke clothe of golde for the faide hatchementts, maneteletts, and sweardes, to hange over the hearfe			<i>sine precio.</i>
Itm, of the faide stoore four yarde of white fatten for the same cause, price the yarde 11s.	2	4	0

Soma £3. 11s. p stauro £. 2 4s.
p nova empc'oe £. 1 7s.

X x 2

The

The chariot covered with clothe of golde.

Of stoore, 20 yarges qr. di. clothe of golde
tishewed withe golde and sylver for to co-
ver the chariott of tymbre that cariede the
Kinge's corpes with the Kinge's pycture
from White hawle to Westm' churche *fine precio.*

Thomas Stacye, for 20 yarges di. of blew
velvett do'ble jeane for the nether parte of
the same charriott, price the yarde 18*s.* 18 9 0

Itm, for 10 yarges of blacke velvett jeane
for coveringe the shaftes of the litter and
other necessaries, price the yarde 15*s.* 7 10 6

Lawrence Ball, for 6lb. 2 ownces qr. of
frendge of Venice gold twisted for the
upper parte and nether parte of the said
chariott, price the lb. £.4 8*s.* price the
ownce 7*s.* 4*d.* — — 27 4 6

Yet the chariott cov'ed with clothe of golde,
w^t 7 horses trapped withe black velvett.

Itm, for 50 yarges golde passamente lace for
garnishing the pyllors of the chariott,
weiyng 14 ownces di. price the ownc 9*s.* 6 10 6

Itm, for 28 ownces of black and purple
peny breade ryb'an for garnishing the cha-
riott and shaftes, price the ownc 1*s.* 8*d.* 2 6 8

John Grene for woorkmanshippe of the co-
veringe of the faide charyott withe the
faide clothe of golde and velvett, price
in greate — — 2 6 8

Itm, of him, for 2000 di. gylte nayle for the
garnishinge of the same chariott, price the
1000 £.1. — — 2 10 0

Itm,

of the Burial of King EDWARD VI.

341

Itm, for one thousande di. blacke garnishinge nayles for the same cause, price the thow- fande 5s.	£. s. d.
	0 7 6
Itm, for 12 bolion nayles gylte for the same cause, price the pece 5s. —	0 5 0
Anthony Silver, whelewrighte, for tymbre and workmanshippe, withe wheles, withe all other n'cc'yes thereto belongeing, price in greate — —	8 4 0
Richard Pye, joiner, for 4 pillors to the same chariott, withe the same woorkmanshippe of all necessaries, withe wages and woork- men abowte the same, price ingrofs	2 0 6
John Keyme, smith, for 40 socketts, 8 sqwiers, withe other necessaries thereto ingrofs — —	1 9 0
Thomas Cure, sadleyer, for 6 padde saddles for 6 chariotte horses that leade the said chariott, price the pere 6s. 8d. —	2 0 0
Itm, for cuttinge and makinge of 7 trappers of blacke velvett, withe buckeram, for 7 charyotte hories, price the pece 10s.	3 10 0
Itm, for 112 yarde buckeram for lyninge the sayde 7 trappers, price the yarde 8d.	3 14 8
Thomas Stacye, for 147 yarde blacke velvett do'ble jeane for the coveringe of the said 7 trappers, price the yarde 16s. —	117 12 0
Itm, for 16 yarde of blacke velvett do'ble jeane for covering of harnesses for the said chariott horses, price every yarde thereof 16s. — —	12 16 0
6	Thomas

Thomas Cure for 7 payer of stirroppe lethers covered withe welvette, at 8 <i>d.</i>	—	£. s. d.
		0 4 8
Itm, for 7 payre of gyrthes, price the payer 10 <i>d.</i>		0 5 10
Itm, for 7 payre of raynes coverde withe velvett, price the payer 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	—	0 9 4
Itm, for 7 heditalls of black ledder withe there portemouthes, price the pece 1 <i>s.</i>		0 7 0
Lawence Ball, for 7 ounces of blacke Spanishe sylke frendge for tassells, price the ounce 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	—	0 11 8
Itm, for 13 yarde of blacke Inglish ryban to leade the chariott horses, price therde 1 <i>s.</i>		0 13 0
John Baseley, collar-maker for ledder Hungrye and black ledder do'ble stiched, withe traces and a lymmer saddle, withe all things apperteigninge to the famed draughtes		4 0 0
Will'm Cressente for 7 bytts withe bosses price the pece 8 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	—	3 0 8
Robarte Smithe, for 7 payer of stiropps, price every payer 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	—	0 16 4
Thomas Cure, for 40 socketts to staye the standerdes withe stirroppe lethers, whereof 17 covered with velvett, and the other withe clothe, price the pece 1 <i>s.</i>	—	2 0 0
Itm, for 3 pyllions of buckeram stuffed withe flaxe, one for the lymmer sadle, and the other twoo for the chariotte, price the pece 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	—	0 4 0
Itm, for cariage of all the stufte to Westm', and for taylors to stitche on skochins upon horses	—	0 9 0
		Itm,

of the Burial of King EDWARD VI. 343

Itm, for canvas for patrons for to cutt the saide	£.	s.	d.
trappers in the warderobe, price in greate	0	3	4
Frauncis Poope, for 17 yarde of blacke clothes			
for focketts and to laye within the charyott,			
price every yarde thereof 6s. 8d.	—	5	13 4
Som'a	£.237	14s.	2d.

The trappor of clothe of golde for the horfse off estate.

Thomas Cure, for cuttinge and makeinge of			
one trapper of clothe of golde for the hoorfse			
of estate, lynede withe buckeram, price the			
makeinge	—	—	—
	0	10	9

Itm, for one holster saddle covered withe blacke			
cotton for the same horfse, price	—	0	10 0

Of the stoore in the greate warderobe, 21			
yarde of clothe of golde purple for the sayde			
trapper	—	—	—
			<i>fine precio.</i>

Thomas Cure, for 16 yarde of buckeram for			
lynynge the sayde trappor, price therde 8d.			

Laurence Ball, for 7 ownces di. frendge of			
Venice golde for the forefaide trapper,			
price thownce 7s. and fower pence	—	2	15 0

Thomas Cure, for one payre of stirroppe			
lethers covered withe velvett, price			
	0	1	0

Itm, for a hedstall and the raignes coveredde			
withe clothe of golde, price	—	0	2 4

Itm, a payer of longe gyrthes	—	0	1 0
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William Cressentte, for one bytte withe bosses			
withe antyke woorke do'ble gylte all over,			
price therof in greate	—	4	13 4

Som'a £.9 3s. 4d. p nova empc'oe.

The

The trappor of farfcinet for the manne of armes					
Thomas Cure, for cuttinge and makinge of			£.	s.	d.
a trapper of redde and blewe farfcinet for					
the manne of armes there represented by					
twoo tables, price thereof	—		0	6	8
Itm, for a stele faddell and for the coveringe of					
the same with redde and blewe farfcinet,					
price	— — —		1	6	8
Thomas Stacey, for 5 yarde of redde farfcinet					
for the saide trapper and faddell, at					
4s. 4d. therd	— — —		1	1	8
Itm, for 14 yarde of blacke farfcinet for a					
trapper for him, price the yarde 4s. 4d.			3	0	8
Thomas Cure, for a hedstall and a payer of					
raynes coveredde with farfcinet, price			0	2	4
Itm, for a payer stirroppe lethers	—		0	0	8
Will'm Cressente, for one greate bytte with					
blacke bosses, price therof	—		0	10	0
Robarte Smithe, for one payer of stirroppe,					
price	— — —		0	3	4
Itm, for 5 yarde of blewe farfcinet for the					
same cause, price the yarde 4s. 4d.			1	1	8
Som'a £.7 13s. 8d.					
A trappor of velvett for the chieffe mourner					
Thomas Cure, for one faddell for the Lord					
Treafurer, Marques of Winchester, cheffe					
mourner, price thereof	—		0	6	8
Itm to him, for makinge of oone trapper of					
blacke velvett lynede with buckeram, price			0	10	0
Thomas Stacey, for 21 yarde of blacke vel-					
vett do'ble jeane for a trapper for him, at					
18s.	— — —		18	18	0
Itm,					

Itm, for 16 yardes of buckeram for lynynge of the saide trapper, price therde 8 <i>d</i> .	0	10	8
Itm, for oone payer of stirroppe lethers co- vered withe velvett, price —	0	0	8
Itm, for one payer of browne gyrrhes, price	0	0	10
Itm, for one payer of raynes coverde withe blacke velvett, price —	0	1	4
Itm, for oone hedstall of blacke ledder withe portemouthes, price thereof —	0	1	0
Will'm Cressente, bytt-maker, for one bytte withe gylte bosses withe antyke woorke do'ble gylte, price therof —	4	3	4
Robarte Smithe, for one payre of stirroppps, price — — —	0	3	4
Lawrence Ball, for 2 rownde buttons of blacke fylke for a payer of reignes, price the pece 1 <i>s</i> .	0	2	0
Itm, for one owunce of blacke fylke frendge for the sayde tassell, price the owunce	0	1	8

Som'a £.24 19*s*. 6*d*. p nova emp'oe

The trappors of velvett for 9 henchmen.

Thomas Cure, for makinge of 9 trappers of blacke velvett lynede withe buckeram for 9 of the kinges henchemen, price the pece 10 <i>s</i> .	4	10	0
Thomas Stacey, for 84 yardes qr. blacke vel- vett do'ble jeane for coveringe of parte of the saide 9 trappers, to every trapper 21 yardes, at 16 <i>s</i> . — —	67	8	0
Itm, 60 yardes blacke velvett do'ble jeane for the same cause, price the yarde 18 <i>s</i> .	54	0	0
John Bridges, for 44 yds. 3 qrs. blacke vel- vett jeane for the same cause, price the yarde 15 <i>s</i> . — — —	33	11	3

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Tho-

Thomas Cure, for 144 yardes of buckeram for lynynge the sayde 9 trappors, price the yarde 8 <i>d</i> .	—	—	4	16	0
Itm, for 9 payer of stirroppe lethers for them, at 8 <i>d</i> ,	—	—	0	6	0
Itm, for 9 payer of browne gyrthes, at 10 <i>d</i> . the pece	—	—	0	7	6
Itm, for 9 payer of raynes covered w' blacke velvett, price the payer 1 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	—	—	0	12	0
Itm, for 9 hedstalls of blacke ledder withe portemouthes, price the pece 1 <i>s</i> .	—	—	0	9	0
Will'm Cressente, for 9 greate byttes withe blacke bosses for 9 greate courfers, price the bytte 10 <i>s</i> .	—	—	4	10	0
Robert Smithe, for 9 payer of blacke sti- roppes, price the payer 2 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	—	—	1	1	0
Laurence Ball, for 4 gros of blacke fylke ry- ban for trimmyng of all the trappors, price			1	14	0
Itm, for 9 ounces of fylke for 9 payer of raynes of velvett, price the payer 1 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .			0	15	0

Som'a £. 173 19 9 & nova empc'oe.

The hearse in Westm' church.

Thomas Stacye, for 72 yardes of blacke vel- vett jeane for the coveringe and garnish- inge the hearse and the postes, price the yarde 16 <i>s</i> .	—	—	57	12	0
John' Warley, for 20 yardes of taffata for a ma ^{re} clothe within the sayde hearse, price the yarde 10 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	—	—	10	6	8
Thomas Stacye, for 8 yardes of blacke taffata for the same cause, price the yarde 10 <i>s</i> .			4	0	0

Lau-

Laurence Ball, for 9lb. 10 ounces 3 qrs. of frendge of Venice golde for the sayde ma", price the lb. £.4. 8s. and price the owncce 7s. 4d. — —	43 10 10
Itm, for 6lb 3 ounces of blacke sylke frendge for the same cause, price the lb. £1. 4s. price the owncce 1s. 6d. — —	7 8 6
Thomas Stacye, for oone yarde of crimfin lukes velvett for the sayde hearfe, price Som'a £.124 4s. 8d. p nova empc'oe.	1 6 8
Pawles of velvett and clothe of gold. Thomas Stacye, for 48 yardes of blacke velvett jeane for oone pawle to laye upon the coffyn within the sayde churchc at Westm' price the yarde 16s. — —	38 8 0
Nicholas Stayles, for 11 yardes of white fatten for a crosse for the same, price the yarde 7s. 4d. — —	4 0 8
Thomas Laurence, 45 yardes of buckeram for lynynge the same pawle, price the yarde 7d.	1 6 3
Of the Qwenes stoore 30 yards di. di. qr. of purple clothe of golde for pawles to be of- fered by the Lorde Treasorer cheffe mowr- ner, and other estates mowrners there	<i>sine precio.</i>
Itm, of the same stoore, 19 yards of blacke clothe of golde withe woorkes for the same cause — —	<i>sine precio.</i>
Thomas Stacye, for 27 yards 3 qrs. blacke velvett do'ble jeane, dd. to the Lorde Trea- sorer for the use of the sayde buriall, price the yarde 16s. — —	22 4 0
Som'a £.65 18s. 11d. Y y 2	Blacke

Blacke lynnges and blacke cottons for the hanginge of White hawle.

Thomes Ackworthe for 1306 yards di. of blacke narrowe cotton for the hanginge of the Kinges palaice of Westm', viz. The chambre of presence, the palliott chambre, the hawle, the chappell, the hearfse, withem the Chapell, price the y'de 8*d*. 43 11 0

Frauncis Poope, for 2282 yardes of blacke narrowe cotton for the same cause, price the yarde 8*d*. — — — 76 1 4

Thomas Ackworthe, for 344 yards of broad cotton for the same cause, price the yarde 3*s*. 4*d*. — — — 57 6 8

Frauncis Poope, for 281 yards qr. of broad cotton for the same cause, price the yarde 3*s*. 4*d*. — — — 46 17 6

John Goodwin for 21 yards qr. of broad clothe for the same cause, price the yarde 2*s*. 4*d*. 2 9 7

The wages of taylors workinge abowte the fowinge and hanginge of the sayde cottons, etc. 4 8 2

Thomas White, for 7 boltes of blacke thred for the fowinge of them, price the bolte 4*s*. 4*d*. — — — 1 10 4

Som'a £.233 4*s*. 8*d*.

Blacke lynnges for the hanginge of Westm' church.

Thomas Ackworthe, for 809 yards di. of narrow cotton for the hanginge of the hearfse rownde abowte, and for the hanginge of the fydes of the middell ile all alonge of the church of Westm', price the yarde 8*d*. 26 19 8

4

Itm,

Itm, for 54 yards di. broade cotton for the same cause, at 3s. 4d. — —	9 1 8
Frauncis Poope, for a 10;6 yardes of narrowe cotton for the same cause, price the yarde 8d.	35 4 0
Thomas Mounte, for 22 yardes 3 qrs. blacke clothe for the same cause, price the yarde 6s. 8d. — —	7 11 8
Richarde Blackney, for 43 yardes di. of broade clothe for the same cause, price the yarde 3s.	6 10 6
Richarde Blackneye, for 22 yardes di. blacke clothe for the same cause, price the yarde 3s. 4d. — —	3 15 0
Thomas White, for 48 yardes of blacke clothe for the same cause, price the yarde 3s. 4d. — — —	8 0 0
John Hylles, for tenter hookes and arras hookes to hange all the blacke lynnynges in in the churche and at White hall —	0 8 6
Thomas White, for taylors wages workinge aboute the hanginge of the same churche	3 3 4
Itm, for boltes of blacke thred for sowinge the same hanginges, price —	0 14 0
Som'a £.101 8s. 4d.	

The PAYNTER's BOOKE assigned by the Lorde Treasorer.
The ma^r clothe.

Inprimis, for the workmanshippe of a ma ^r and vallence sett upp within the chapell at White hawle — —	3 0 0
Itm, for the workmanshippe of the ma ^r and vallence sett upp within the churche at Westm' — — —	5 0 0
	Itm,

Itm, for the workmanſhippe of a ma^r for
the chareott — —

2 0 0

 10 0 0

Standerdes.

Itm, for the workmanſhippe of 3 Standerdes,
the lyon, the dragon, and the greyhounde,
price the pece £.6 beyng wroughte in fyne
golde — — —

18 0 0

Banners.

Itm, for the workmanſhippe of 12 banners
in fyne golde, price the pece £.2.

24 0 0

Itm, 6 lardge banners of damaske wroughte
in fyne golde, price the pece £.4 6s. 8d.

26 0 0

Itm, for 6 banners of farſcinett wroughte in
fyne golde, at £.3 6s. 8d. the pece, beyng
in depths oone yarde and a halffe —

20 0 0

 70 0 0

Bannerolls.

Itm, for 4 bannerolls of do'ble farſcinett in
fyne golde, at £.2. — —

8 0 0

Itm, moore for 21 bannerolls of farſcinett in
fyne golde, price the pece £.1 3s. 8d.

24 17 0

Itm, for 9 bannerolls of farſcinett for the
pages of honor, price the pece 18s.

8 2 0

 40 19 0

The helmett and mauntells.

Itm for a large helme gylte all over —

4 0 0

Itm, for a crowne carved and gylte w' bur-
niſhed golde — —

2 0 0

Itm, a lyon karved and gylte withe bur-
niſhed golde — —

2 0 0

Itm,

Itm, for an armyng fwearde, price —	1	0	0
Itm, for gylding the same fwerde and for the shapinge of the shethe, buckell, pen- d'unte, and chape, price —	0	10	0
Itm, for a targate of the Kinges armes within the garter and the crowne over yt gylte	2	0	0
Itm, for the makinge of the mauntells of clothe of golde lyned withe white fatten, twoo knoppes of burnished golde withe twoo tassells of fylke and golde —	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	13	10	0
Pencells.			
Itm for 21 dosen of pencells wroughte in fyne golde and sylver upon do'ble sarfcinet of an elle longe, at 1s. 4d. — —	16	16	0
Shafferons.			
Itm, for 6 dosen of shafferons, price the pece 2s. — — —	7	4	0
Skochons.			
Itm, 6 dosen skochons of do'ble sarfcinet wroughte in fyne golde, price the pece 3s.	18	0	0
Itm, for 3 dosen skochons of buckeram wroughte in fyne golde, price the pece, 5s.	9	0	0
Itm, for 15 dosen of skochons of buckeram in partye golde, price the pece 3s. 4d.	30	0	0
Itm, for oone dosen skochons of paper in fyne golde, price the pece 4s. —	2	8	0
Itm, 58 dosen skochons of paper in metall partye golde, price the pece 2s. 6d.	87	0	0
		ltn,	

Itm, for 68 dosen of skochons on paper in
collore, at 1s. 4d. — 54 8 0

200 16 0

The crowne imperiall.

Itm, for a crowne imperiall of fyne golde to
be sett oon the hearfe at Westm' — 0 13 4

Itm, 7 yardes of blacke buckeram for the
greate majestie, price the yard 10d. 0 5 10

Itm, for shapinge and fowinge of the velvett
abowte the twoo hearfes, and for the
makinge of twoo pawles — 1 0 0

1 19 2

Banner staves.

Itm, for 3 standerde staves and payntinge the
same, price the staffe, 4s. — 0 12 0

Itm, 6 dosen blacke staves for the ban'ers
and ban'erolls, price the dosen 8s. 2 8 0

Itm, a blacke staffe for the embrawdred
banner — — — 0 1 4

Itm, 21 dosen spere stickes, at 1s. 6d. the
dosen — — — 1 11 6

Itm, 6 staves to beare the canapye all blewe,
the knoppes of them gylte with fyne golde,
at 3s. 4d. the staffe. — — 1 0 0

Itm, for 3 staves, oone to beare the cooate of
armes, oone for the helme, and the other
beare the targate — — 0 6 8

5 19 6

Braces of iron.

Itm, for a brace of iron to sett uppe the
helmett, and four braces moore, as three
for

for the standerdes, and oone for the greate banner, price — —	1 0 0
Itm, 36 brafes for the banners and banerolles	2 3 0
Itm, to the mason for settinge and foderinge in the sayde brafes in places apoynted for him and his men — —	2 10 0
Itm, for 7 brafes of iron at 1s. the braf	0 7 0
Itm, for a polle axe — —	1 0 0
Itm, for an armyngc swerde and a gurdle of velvett — — —	0 16 0
Itm, a payer of gylte spurres, price	0 16 0
	<hr/>
	8 12 0
Itm, for bote hyer too and froo transportinge of the preparementes of the sayde entier- ment by water — —	0 12 0
Itm, for twoo hampers to trusse in the sayde thinges — — —	0 4 0
	<hr/>
	0 16 0
Itm, moore to the office of armes allowance accordinge to the aunciente custome for there attendaunce at the buriall aforefayde of o' late soveraigne of moste famows me- mory Kynge Edwarde the Syxte —	40 0 0
Som'a of the paynters booke	£.434 11s. 8d.

Expenses, necessarys.

Thomas Whyte, for breade, drincke, and meate
for the officers of the warderobe and 4 other
honeite menne, sworne to be prayfers of
the blacke clothe boughte for the lyvereis
for the sayde Burialls, withe others there
attend'unte all the tyme of the provision of

the sayde clothe, and other nec'ies for the sayde buriall apperteynyng	—	8	5	6
Itm, payde for bote hyer from London to Grenewiche at dyvers tymes	—	0	10	0
Itm, boote hyer from London to Westm' at fundry tymes	— —	0	2	0
Itm, payde for boote hyer from London to Richmonde at divers tymes	—	1	5	0
Itm, for paper and incke for theise premisses		0	10	0
Som'a £.10 12s. 6d.				

The wages of the prayfers and other attend'unts
all the tyme of the buriall.

John Bridges, attendinge by the space of 35 dayes upon the prayinge of the blacke clothe boughte for the sayde buriall, Tho- mas Ackworthe lykewife by the space of 35 dayes, John Bomarde 41 dayes, and Frauncis Poope 35 dayes. Tota 146 dayes, at 1s. 8d. the daye	— —	12	3	4
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Thomas White, porter, and Thomas Lau- rence, attendunte, upon the measuringe of the same clothe, either of them by the space of 41 dayes, at 1s. 8d. the daye	—	6	16	8
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Rob'te Hubberde, lykewife attendunte there for the scaffe keepinge of the same clothe by the space of 20 dayes, Henry Wilcox 20 dayes, Rob'te Welton 20 dayes, and Wal- ter Browne 10 dayes. Soma 70 dayes at 1s. the daye	— — —	3	10	0
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Som'a £.22 10s.

At £.1 the yarde	—	155 yards qr.	155	5	0
At £.1 2s. the yarde	—	30 yards	33	0	0
2					At

At 19s. the yarde	—	30 yards	28	10	0
At 18s. the yarde	—	116 yards qr.	104	12	6
At 17s. the yarde	—	65 yards qr.	55	9	3
At 16s. the yarde	—	93 yards 3 qrs.	75	0	0
At 15s. the yarde	—	130 yards	97	10	0
At 14s. the yarde	—	151 yards qr.	105	17	6
At 14s. 4d. the yarde	—	8 yards di.	6	1	10
At 13s. the yarde	—	97 yards di.	63	7	6
At 13s. 4d. the yarde	—	274 yarde	182	13	4
At 12s. the yarde	—	404 yards di.	242	14	0
At 12s. 8d. the yarde	—	12 yards di.	7	18	4
At 12s. the yarde	—	13 yards	7	16	0
At 12s. 4d. the yarde	—	24 yards di.	15	2	2
At 11s. the yarde	—	379 yarde	208	9	0
At 11s. 6d. the yarde	—	79 yards	45	8	6
At 11s. 4d. the yarde	—	18 yards	10	4	0
At 11s. 8 the yarde	—	71 yarde	41	8	4
At 10s. the yarde	—	658 yards qr.	329	2	6
At 10s. 4d. the yarde	—	69 yards	35	13	0
At 10s. 6d. the yarde	—	125 yards 3 qrs.	66	0	4½
At 9s. the yarde	—	511 yards	229	19	0
At 9s. 4d. the yarde	—	191 yards 3 qrs.	89	9	8
At 9s. 6d. the yarde	—	93 yards qr.	44	5	10½
At 9s. 8d. the yarde	—	58 yards di.	28	5	6
At 8s. the yarde	—	1237 yards di.	495	0	0
At 8s. 6d. the yarde	—	342 yards qr.	145	9	1½
At 8s. 4d. the yarde	—	218 yards 3 qrs.	91	2	11
At 8s. 8d. the yarde	—	84 yards qr.	36	10	2
At 7s. the yarde	—	639 yards di.	223	16	6
At 7s. 4d. the yarde	—	207 yards	75	18	0
At 7s. 6d. the yarde	—	395 yards 3 qrs.	148	8	1½
		Z z 2			At

At 7s. 8d. the yarde	—	213 yards 3 qrs.	81	18	9
At 6s. the yarde	—	550 yards di.	165	3	0
At 6s. 8d. the yarde	—	652 yards	217	6	8
At 6s. 4d. the yarde	—	507 yards qr.	160	12	7
At 6s. 6d. the yarde	—	22 yards di.	7	6	3
At 5s. the yarde	—	23 yards 3 qrs.	5	18	9
At 5s. 8d. the yarde	—	338 yards qr.	95	16	9
At 5s. 4d. the yarde	—	68 yards qr.	18	4	0
At 4s. 4d. the yarde	—	14 yards di.	62	0	10

Som'a tota^a yardes 9376 yards di.
Argent. £.4280 17s. 7d.

Sum' to^a of all the p^{ro}vic'ons and other
charges aforefaide — — 5946 9 9

The countinge howfe.

Servants.

John duke of Northum- berlande, lorde great master	nil.		
Sir Thomas Cheyney, knighte, treasurer	10 yardes	8	24 yardes
Sir Rycharde Cotton, knighte, comptroller	10 yardes	8	24 yardes
Sir Thomas Weldon, co- ferer	10 yardes	{ 4 1 clarke	12 yardes 4 yardes
Myg'hell Wentewoorthe, Edwarde Shelley, and James Gage, masters of the howsholde, to every of them 9 yards	27 yardes	{ 12 6 clarkes	36 yardes 24 yardes James

Servauntes

James Sutton and John Dodge, to either of them 9 yares	18 yares	{ 8 4 clarks	24 yares 16 yares
Thomas Curffon and Henry Byrkinhedde, clarkes comptrollers, to ether of them 9 yares	18 yares	{ 8 4 clarks	24 yares 16 yares
Henry Tepiple, yeoman usher	4 yares		
Henry Bloder, grome usher	4 yares		
The Bakehowse.			
Anthonye Crane, f'jeaunte	7 yares	2	6 yares
Thomas Clarke, clarke	7 yares	1	3 yares
Hughe Gryffythe, yeoman for the mowthe	4 yares		
Arnolde Turner and Rauffe Englishe, yeoman furnator, to ether of them 4 yares	8 yares		
Robarte Style, yeoman garnator	4 yares		
Thomas Almner, grome for the mouthe	4 yares		
Rycharde White, grome of the howsholde	4 yares		
Thomas Fysher, Benedict Rosseley, and John Venner, to everye of them 4 yares	12 yares		

Will'm

Servauntes

Will'm Williams, John Dyer, Ellys Potter, Wil- l'm Wrighte, Robarte Wilfon, and James Bate, conductes, to everye of them 3 yardes	18 yardes		
The Pantrye.			
John Joffelyn, f'jeauntte	7 yardes	2	6 yardes
Nicholas Singleton and Thomas Coxe, yeomen for the mouthe, to ether of them 4 yardes	8 yardes		
Will'm Coxe, yeoman	4 yardes		
Humfreye Dymmocke and John Temple, yeomen, for the howsholde, to ether of them 4 yardes	8 yardes		
Robarte Lawrence, grome Brever	4 yardes		
John Wallis and Anthonye Tompfon, gromes for the howsholde, to ether of them 4 y'ds	8 yardes		
Frauncis Cockes, Roger Streate, and Henrye Leeche, pages, to ev'y of them 4 y'ds	12 yardes		
Hughe Harper, breade bearer	4 yardes		

The

Servauntes

The celler.		
Will'm Abbotte, f'jeaunte	9 yards	2
Hughe Askewe and Robarte		6 yards
Gardener, yeomen for the		
mouthe, to ether of them		
4 y'ds	8 yards	
John Thorowgood and Jef-		
frey Perrens, yeomen bre-		
vers, at 4 yards the pece	8 yards	
George Aske and Thomas		
Hunttley, yeomen purvey-		
ors, to ether of them 4		
yardes	8 yards	
Richarde Mylner, grome		
grobber	4 yards	
Thomas Apricharde, yeoman		
of the bottles	4 yards	
Austen Askewe and Richarde		
Guye, pages, to ether of		
them 4 yardes	8 yards	
The Buttrye.		
Edwarde Crassewell, Thomas		
Walcotte, and Christopher		
Buste, to every of them 4		
yards	12 yards	
Rycharde Hemmynge and		
Rycharde Smithe, to ether		
of them, beinge gromies, 4		
y'ds.	8 yards	

Nicholas

Servauntes

Nicholas Tolley and John Wale, pages, to ether of them 4 yades	8 yades	
John Rowsley, yeoman p- veior	4 yades	
John Forman and Thomas Horsley, gromes purveyors, to ether of them 4 yades	8 yades	
The Picher howfe.		
Will'm Lambertte and Ed- warde Byrde, ycoman, to ether of them 4 yades	8 yades	
Will'm Bleke, John Davye, Henry Fryer, and John Danby, to every of them 4 yades	16 yades	
Peter Bygott, page	4 yades	
The Spycerye.		
Rycharde Wade, cheffe clarke	9 yades 3	9 yades
Anthony Weldon, 2 ^d clarke	9 yades 2	6 yades
Thomas Asbye 3 ^d clarke	9 yades 2	6 yades
Thomas Garter, yeoman, pow- der beater	4 yades	
The Chaundelorye.		
John Tynmewell, f'jcaunte	7 yades 2	6 yades
John Irelande and Thomas Syd- waye, yeomen, to ether of them 4 yades	8 yades	
John Harryson, Peter Lawarde, and Stephen Furnishe, gromes, every of them 4 yades	12 yades	

Henry

Servauntes

Henry Preston, page	4	yardes	
The confec'conarye.			
Thomas Alsoppe, f'jeaunte	7	yardes	2 6 yardes
John Bartelette and John			
Avon, yeomen, to ether of			
them 4 yardes	8	yardes	
Thomas Dove, grome	4	yardes	
Thom's Hemmyngwaye, page	4	yardes	
The yewrye.			
Jeffrey Villers, serjeaunte	7	yardes	2 6 yardes
Nicholas Celley and Allen			
Mathewe, gentilmen, to			
ether of them 7 yardes	14	yardes	4 12 yardes
Richarde Lewes, Rauffe Sher-			
man, and Hughe Rogers,			
yeomen, to every of them 4			
yardes	12	yardes	
Will'm Pulforde, Hugh Da-			
vye, gromes, to ether of			
them 4 y'ds	8	yardes	
Robarte Price, Hug. John Ro-			
bertts, to ether of them 4			
y'des	8	yardes	
The Lawndrye.			
Robarte Glastowe, and Wil-			
l'm Coke, yeomen, to ether			
of them 4 yardes	8	yardes	
John Jhones and Will'm Bar-			
land, gromes, to ether of			
them 4 yardes	8	yardes	
VOL. XII.	A a a		John

Servauntes

John Messenger and Richarde			
Blage, pages	8	yardes	
The Waferye			
Adam Alee, yeoman	4	yardes	
John Geffrey, grome	4	yardes	
The Kechyn.			
George Stonchowfe, cheffe	2		6 yardes
clarke	9	yardes	1 clarke 4 yardes
			1 3 yardes
Robarte Beverley, 2 ^d clarke	9	yardes	1 clarke 4 yardes
Christofer Skevington, thirde			1 3 yardes
clarke	9	yardes	1 clarke 4 yardes
George Webster, M ^r . coke for			
the Kinges mouthe	9	yardes	3 9 yardes
Robarte Coole, Richarde By-			
shoppe, and Philippe Yar-			
rowe, yeomen for the			
mouthe, every one 4 y ^d s	12	yardes	
Will ^m Laurence, John Bodye,			
and John Houghton, gromes			
for the mouthe, to ev ^y of			
them 4 y ^d s.	12	yardes	
Myghell Haywarde, Thomas			
Mudde, Thomas Alderton,			
and Richarde Coe, children			
for the mouthe, to everye of			
them 3 y ^d s.	12	yardes	
Edwarde Wilkinson, M ^r Cooke			
for the hawle place	9	yardes	2 6 yardes
			Will ^m

Will'm Moore, Henry Saxon, and John Maye, yeomen for the hawle place, at 4 yd's. the pece	12	yardes	
Thomas Thornebacke, Ro- barte Longe, and Thomas Clarke, gromes of the hawle place, to every of them 4 yardes	12	yardes	
Richarde Newton, Nicholas Shelbye, Walter Freman, and Gylbertte Copingey, children of the hawle place, to every of them 3 yardes	12	yardes	
The Larder.			
John Brickett, sergeaunte	7	yardes	2 6 yardes
George Lovell, clarke	7	yardes	1 3 yardes
Thomas Inglishe, Thomas Durham, and Gylbertte Hoope, yeomen, to ev'y of them 4 yardes	12	yardes	
Thomas Jolles, John Moyes, Richarde Goodwin, gromes, to every of them 4 yardes	12	yardes	
Gregory Burton, Will'm Ri- chardefon, and John Ma- kender, pages, to every of them 4 yardes	12	yardes	
The Boylinghowse.			
John White, yeoman	4	yardes	
	A a a	2	Will'm

Serveautes

Will'm Radley, John Bykeley, and Will'm Simpſon, gromes, to every of them 4 yardes	12 yardes	
The Catrye.		
John Hopkins, ſerjeauntte	7 yardes	2 6 yardes
Stephen Darrell, clarke	7 yardes	1 3 yardes
Thomas Lucas, yeoman, pur- veyor of the ſea fyſhe	4 yardes	
Peter Hunynges, Edmonde Andros, yeomen, p'rveiors of freſhe water fyſhe, to every of them 4 y'ds	8 yardes	
Edwarde Maſter and Edwarde Ruſſell, yeomen, purveyors of oxen and ſhepe, to ether of them 4 yardes	8 yardes	
Will'm Byrde, Henry Good- win, yeomen, bowchers, to ether of them 4 yardes	8 yardes	
Chriſtopher Harwoode and Rauffe Savage, gromes, bow- chers, ether of them 4 yardes	8 yardes	
Thomas Jury and John Waſte, yeomen, purveyors of caulves and hogges, to ether of them 4 y'ds	8 yardes	
Rauffe Harris, yeoman, keeper of the paſtures	4 yardes	

John Robbinson and Richarde

Dawson, gromes of the
herdes, to ether of them 4
yardes

8 yardes

George Hyll, yeoman, keper
of the stoore

4 yardes

The Powltrye.

Davyd Sambroke, f'jeauntte

7 yardes 2

6 yardes

Edwarde Darrell, clarke

7 yardes 1

3 yardes

Will'm Gurley, yeoman for
the mouthe

4 yardes

Edmonde Hampshere and Ed-
warde Albyn, yeomen, to
ether of them 4 yardes

8 yardes

John Dodge, yeoman, pur-
veior of lambes

4 yardes

James Mannynge, Thomas
Gorley, and John Pratte,
gromes, to every of them 4
yardes

12 yardes

The Skaldeing Howse.

Richarde Boughton, Robarte
Hyll, and John Hyde, yeo-
men, to every of them 4
yardes

12 yardes

Thomas Skirres and John
Taylor, gromes, to ether of
them 4 yardes

8 yardes

Connenaunte Robynson, page

4 yardes

The Pastrye

Thomas Dover, serjeaunte

7 yardes 2

6 yardes

James

		Servauntes
James Woodforde, clarke	7 yades	1 3 yades
Stephen Moone and Thomas Colley, yeomen for the mouthe, to ether of them 4 yades	8 yades	
Symon Dudley, John Campe, Geffrey Frenche, and Richard Typhawe, gromes, to ether of them 4 yades	16 yades	
Richarde Perfon, John Mondaye, Rauffe Battye, Roberte Dover, children, to everye of them 3 yades	12 yades	
The Sqwillarye.		
John Worrall, ferjeaunte	7 yades	2 6 yades
Alexander Horden, clarke	7 yades	1 3 yades
John Harvy, Edward Rowfley, and James Anyon, yeomen, to ev'ry of them 4 yades	12 yades	
Thomas Cutler and Robarte Harryott, gromes, to every of them 4 yades	8 yades	
John White, Will'm Alate, Will'm Bartholomewe, Bryan Byrtte, pages, to every of them 4 yades	16 yades	
Thomas Austen, Will'm Gilman, Will'm Crockforde, and Lewes Loyde, children, to every of them 3 yades	12 yades	

The

Servauntes

The Woodyarde.

John Brice, ferjeaunte	7 yarges	2	6 yarges
John Abington, clarke	7 yarges	1	3 yarges
John Skinner, Nicholas Wayneman, Henry Faier- felde, Frauncis Myghell, yeomen, to everye of them 4 yarges	16 yarges		
Will' Buke, Robarte Clot- worthe, John Wells, Tho- mas Colman, gromes, to everye of them 4 y'ds	16 yarges		
George Writtington and Ro- barte Nevell, pages, to ether of them 4 yarges	8 yarges		

Surviors of the drestor.

Will'm Ryther and John Da- nyell, furveiours of the dres- tor for the Kinge, to ether of them 9 yarges	18 yarges	6	18 yarges
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Marshalls of the hawle.

Thomas Payne, Richarde Wheteley, Thomas Myles, John Apowell, John Fytz- richards, marshalls, to ether of them 7 y'ds.	35 yarges	10	30 yarges
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The Harbingers.

John Gylman, gentilman Edwarde Wharton, Henry	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
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Man-

Servauntes

Mannynge, Edwarde Page,
 Richarde Darbye, yeomen,
 to every of them 4 yardes 16 yardes

The Amnorye.

Doct ^r Coxce, amner	10 yardes	8	24 yardes
Will'm Todde, under amner	9 yardes	1	3 yardes
Doct ^r Standishe, confessor of the howsholde	9 yardes	1	3 yardes
Thomas Boxeleye, Laurence Wetherhed, Bartholomewe Redhedde, yeomen, to everye of them 4 yardes	12 yardes		
Will'm Horsley and Will'm Russell, gromes, to ether of them 4 y'ds	8 yardes		
John Marten, Edmonde Skaffe, and Will'm Longe, chil- dren, to every of them 3 yardes	9 yardes		

The Porters.

Will'm Knevett, f'jeaunte,	9 yardes	3	9 yardes
John Herdc, Thomas Battson, and Thomas Ball, yeomen, to every of them 4 yardes	12 yardes		
Will'm Curtes and John Hey- ton, gromes, to ether of them 4 y'ds	8 yardes		

Purveiors of Cartes.

Edmonde Myffette, yeoman	4 yardes
John Plume, grome	4 yardes

The

Servauntes

The Gylder.		
John Felts, gilder	4	yards
The Dogge Keper.		
John Beadle, dogge keper	4	yards
Sewers of the hawle.		
Thomas Marvyn, John Stowe, Clementte Norres, Randell Thirkill, sewers of the hawle, to every of them 7 yards	28 yards	4 12 yards
Surviors of the Dreffor.		
Goddarde Hall and Robarte Jerningham, surviors of the dreffor, to ether of them, 7 yards	14 yards	2 6 yards
The Waxe Chanderler.		
Will'm Anstey, waxe chanderler	4	yards
Servitors of the hawle.		
Thomas Walker, Thomas Tymperley, Leonarde Wil- kinson, Thomas Rowe, John Foster, John Savage, John Redinge, Hughe Parye, John Bishoppe, James Swifte, John Grete, Wil- fride Easton, George Reade, Will'm Morton, Will'm Fefye, Owen Burrowes, Will'm Wekes, and John		
Vol. XII.	B b b	Ven

Ventrife, to everye of them

4 yardes

72 yardes

Messingers.

John Davye, messengere of the
comptinge house

4 yardes

Wyne Porters.

Thomas Smithe, Davye Jones,
Robarte Winckele, Robarte
Lovell, Thomas Crofte, Ed-
monde Washell, John Sta-
cye, Thomas P'nell, Tho-
mas Richardefon, Richarde
Stertte, wyneporters, to
every of them 4 yardes

40 yardes

The Fruterer.

Nicholas Harris, fructerer

4 yardes

The Smithe.

Guylam Votyer the Smithe

4 yardes

Artificers and other Officers parteigninge
to the Howsholde.

Peter Robbynson, botell maker,

4 yardes

Thomas Dentte, purveyor of
rushes

4 yardes

Edwarde Rowsley and Nicho-
las Calverley, yeomen, carte
takers, to ether of them 4
yardes

8 yardes

Rauffe Boughey, cowper of
the cellarre

4 yardes

Will'm Ustewayte, pewterer

4 yardes

Chrif-

Christopher Porter, cowper of the howsholde	4 yarges
John Kingston	4 yarges
Richarde Grene, partridge taker	4 yarges
John Grene, cofer maker	4 yarges
John Skinner, masser skowrer	4 yarges
John Colman, tynker	4 yarges
Porters skowrers and turne broches, to every of them 1 y'de di. to the number of 31 p'fons	46 yarges di.
Motley, woodberer	3 yarges
Pensioners of the Howsholde	
Robarte Kynge, porter yeoman	4 yarges
Jolin Blome, yeoman of the chan'dry	4 yarges
Robarte Elton, yeoman of the stable	4 yarges
John Dawnstowe, yeoman of the chaundrye	4 yarges
John Dune, yeoman of the larder	4 yarges
Henry Fysher, yeoman of the woodyarde	4 yarges
Christopher Choninge, grome	4 yarges
John Bennett, yeoman porter	4 yarges
Rob'te Cowper, of the but- trye	4 yarges
Edwarde Jones	4 yarges
B b b 2	

John

Servauntes

John Dyxe, yeoman of the ewerye	4 yards	
Richarde Elyott, servitor of the hawle	4 yards	
Will'm Bate, yeoman of the woodyarde	4 yards	
Symonde Cleyboorne, grome of the woodyarde	4 yards	
James Pykes, barbor	4 yards	
Roger Reper, yeoman, purveyor of the pultrye	4 yards	
Henry Mylls, purveyor of the spicerye	4 yards	
Edmonde Felton, maister cof-ferere and clarke	7 yards	2 6 yards
For Mr. Treaforer and Mr. Comptroller, to either of them, for trappors, 6 yards	12 yards	
The Chapell.		
The subdeane of the chapell	9 yards	1 3 yards
Sir Nicholas Archebolde, preste	9 yards	1 3 yards
Sir Will'm Walker, preste	9 yards	1 3 yards
Sir Roberte Chamberleine	9 yards	1 3 yards
Sir Will'm Gravesende, preste	9 yards	1 3 yards
Sir John Angell, preste	9 yards	1 3 yards
Will'm Hochine, gentelman	7 yards	1 3 yards
Thomas Byrde, gentylman	7 yards	1 3 yards
Richarde Bowre, gentelman	7 yards	1 3 yards
Roberte Pirrey, gentelman	7 yards	1 3 yards
Will'm Barbor, gent.	7 yards	1 3 yards
		Roberte

Servauntes			
Roberte Richmounte, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Thomas Wayte, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Thomas Tallis, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Nicholas Mellowe	7 yards	1	3 yards
Thomas Wrichte	7 yards	1	3 yards
John Bendebowe	7 yards	1	3 yards
Robert Stone, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
John Shepherde, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Will'm Maperley, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
George Edwardes, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Roberte Moorecocke, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Will'm Hynns	7 yards	1	3 yards
Richarde Ayleworthe	7 yards	1	3 yards
Thomas Palfreman	7 yards	1	3 yards
Roger Cotton, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Luke Caustell, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Richarde Farraunte	7 yards	1	3 yards
Edwarde Adame	7 yards	1	3 yards
John Singer, gospeller.	9 yards	1	3 yards
Roberte Bassocke, s'jeaunte of the vestrye	7 yards	1	3 yards
James Caster, gent.	7 yards	1	3 yards
Thomas Coufson, yeoman	7 yards		
John Lucum, yeoman	7 yards		
John Denman, yeoman	7 yards		
Walter Thuleby, yeoman	7 yards		
Morres Tedder, yeoman	7 yards		
Hughe Will'ms, yeoman	7 yards		
Richarde Tyll, com'on s'una'nte	3 yards		

Servauntes

12 children of the Kinges chapel, to evry of them	2 yards	24	yardes	
The com'on servaunte to the sayde children		3	yardes	
Clarcks of the Councell.				
Armigill Wade	9 yardes	4	12	yardes
Barnarde Hampton	9 yardes	4	12	yardes
John Fothergyll, keper of the cownceiles recordes	7 yardes			
Gentilmen of the Previe Chambr.				
Sir Mores Bartlett, knight	10 yardes	8	24	yardes
Sir Henry Nevell, knight	10 yardes	8	24	yardes
Sir Will'm Fitzwill'ms,	10 yardes	8	24	yardes
Mr. Thomas Cotton	10 yardes	8	24	yardes
Will'm Som'er the Kinges foole, for his gowne and cooate	7 yardes	1	3	yardes
Gentilmen Ufhers daylie Wayters.				
John Norris	9 yardes	3	9	yardes
Philippe Bauberye	9 yardes	3	9	yardes
Frauncis Everarde	9 yardes	3	9	yardes
John Franckewell	9 yardes	3	9	yardes
Hercules Raynsforthe	9 yardes	3	9	yardes
Gent. Ufhers Quarter Wayters.				
John Harmon	9 yardes	2	6	yardes
Will'm Tanner	9 yardes	2	6	yardes
Stephen Brackenbury	9 yardes	2	6	yardes
Thomas Nuporte	9 yardes	2	6	yardes
				Fowre

Servauntes

Fower yonge Lordes,

The lorde Thomas Howarde	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
The lorde Gyles	10 yarges	2	6 yarges
The lorde Lumley	10 yarges	2	6 yarges
The lorde Mounte Joye	10 yarges	2	6 yarges

Sewers of the Chambre.

Rycharde Forfter	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Richarde White	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Robarte Alec	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Turnor	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Peers	9 yarges	2	6 yarges

Gromes of the Chambre.

Thomas Garman	4 yarges
John Johnfon senior	4 yarges
John Johnfon junior	4 yarges
Will'm Stoone	4 yarges
Thylde	4 yarges
Flemynge	4 yarges
George Bayne	4 yarges

Chapleyns.

Sir Anthonye Ottwaye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Sir Edg. onde Grindall	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

Serjeaunts at Armes.

Richarde Raynesshawe	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Will'm Clarke	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Thomas Hales	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Hughe Minors	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Laurence Serle	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Richarde Worley	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Hughe Willoughbye	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Henry Jones	9 yarges	2	6 yarges

The

Serauntes

The Garde.

John Peers, clarke of the
cheke, for 24 yeomen of the
garde, to every of them 4
yards 96 yards

Kinges at Armes.

Maister Garter, principall kinge
at armes 9 yards 4 12 yards
Clarentius 9 yards 3 9 yards

Haralds at Armes.

Windefore 8 yards 2 6 yards
Richemonde 8 yards 2 6 yards
Somerfett 8 yards 2 6 yards

Purifyvantts at Armes.

Rouge Dragon 8 yards 1 3 yards
Rouge Croffe 8 yards 1 3 yards

Gromes of the Kinges Prevy Chamber.

John Phylpott 9 yards 4 12 yards
Christopher Salmon 9 yards 4 12 yards
John Fowler 9 yards 4 12 yards
Richarde Chyttwoodde 9 yards 4 12 yards
Thomas Streate 9 yards 4 12 yards
Dayd Vincente 9 yards 4 12 yards
Will'm Simbarke 9 yards 4 12 yards
Richarde Cooke 9 yards 4 12 yards
Will'm Thorppe 9 yards 4 12 yards
John Osborn 9 yards 4 12 yards
John Penne 9 yards 4 12 yards
Edwarde Harman 9 yards 4 12 yards
Walter Earle 9 yards 4 12 yards
Clarckes

Servauntes

Clarckes of the Signett.

Richarde Taverner	9 yards	{ 2 1 clarke	6 yards 3 yards
Will'm Honnynges	9 yards	{ 2 1 clarke	6 yards 3 yards
Gregory Raylton	9 yards	{ 2 1 clarke	6 yards 3 yards
Nicafius Yettfwerth	9 yards	{ 2 1 clarke	6 yards 3 yards
John Clyffe	9 yards	{ 2 1 clarke	6 yards 3 yards

The Lordes and Knyghtes of
the Kings Prevy Councell.

The archebishoppe of Caun-
terburye

The lorde chauncellor	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde treaforer	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde prevye seale	16 yards	12	36 yards
The duke of Suffolke	16 yards	12	36 yards
The earle of Arundell	16 yards	12	36 yards
The earle of Shrewsburye	16 yards	12	36 yards
The earle of Penbroke	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde chamberleine	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde Cobham	10 yards	8	24 yards
Mr. seacretory Peter	10 yards	8	24 yards
Mr. secretorie Cicell	10 yards	8	24 yards
Mr. secretorye Cheeke	10 yards	8	24 yards
Sir Edward North	10 yards	8	24 yards
Sir John Mafon	10 yards	8	24 yards
Sir John Baker	10 yards	8	24 yards

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C c c

Sir

Servauntes.

Sir Rauffe Sadleyre	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Robarte Bowes	10 yarges	8	24 yarges

Lords and gent. of the
Kinges Prevy Chamber.

The earle of Worcester	16 yarges	12	35 yarges
The lorde Thomas Graye	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Anthony Selenger	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Thomas Wrothe	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Anthonye Cooke	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Mr. Wheler	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Richard Bluntte	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Mr. Thomas Cotton	10 yarges	8	24 yarges

Cupberer.

Mr. Foster	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
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Kervers.

The lorde Fitzwater	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Sir Edward Rogers	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
Mr. Carye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

Sewers.

Sir Perfuall Harte, sewers.	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
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Sqwier for the Bodye.

Mr. John Darcy, esquiviers for the bodye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
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Gentilmen Ushers Quarter

Wayters.

Will'm Morice	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
Robarte Hodgkyns	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
6			Anthony

Servauntes

Anthony Wingfelde	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
Robarte Kinge	9 yarde	2	6 yarde

Sewers of the Chambr.

Will'm Sackvylde	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
Randall Dodde	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
Edmonde Lyle	9 yarde	2	6 yarde

Officers at Armes.

Norrey	9 yarde	3	9 yarde
Chester	8 yarde	2	6 yarde
Blewe Mantell	8 yarde	2	6 yarde

Paynters.

Thomas Childe	4 yarde		
Rycharde Widere	4 yarde		

S'ieantts at Armes.

John Smithe	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
John Saincte John	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
Walter Chankott	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
Richarde Borwell	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
John Knottsforshe	9 yarde	2	6 yarde
John Rechebell	9 yarde	2	6 yarde

The Kinges Chapleins.

Mr. Latymer	9 yarde	3	9 yarde
Mr. Byll	9 yarde	3	9 yarde
Mr. Perne	9 yarde	3	9 yarde
Mr. Buttell	9 yarde	3	9 yarde
Mr. Ruddle	9 yarde	3	9 yarde

The Kings Phisitions.

Doctor Owen	6 yarde	3	9 yarde
Doctor Wendye	6 yarde	3	9 yarde

C c c 2

The

Serauntes

The Potycarye.

John Hemyngwey Poticarye	4 yarde	1	3 yarde
Surgeons,			
Thomas Vicars, ferjeaunte	4 yarde	2	6 yarde
Forreste	4 yarde	2	6 yarde
Ferres	4 yarde	2	6 yarde

Gromes of the Chambré.

Rycharde Hodges	4 yarde
John Baker	4 yarde
Richarde Owtredde	4 yarde
John Oker	4 yarde
Anthony Grynham	4 yarde
Nicholas Darbye	4 yarde
Will'm Chatterton	4 yarde
Laurence Hufsey	4 yarde
Will'm Aman	4 yarde

Pages of the Chambré.

John Haydon	4 yarde
John Colier	4 yarde
Will'm Worley	4 yarde
Richarde Jones	4 yarde

The Warderobe of the Roobes.

Robarte Robotham, yeoman	9 yarde	4	12 yarde
Humfrey Adderley, grome	9 yarde	4	12 yarde
Thomas Jones, page	9 yarde	4	12 yarde

The Warderobe of the Bedds.

Humfrey Orme, yeoman	7 yarde	1	3 yarde
Marmaduke Warderobe	7 yarde	1	3 yarde
Henry Plesington, grome	7 yarde	1	3 yarde
Richarde Beathell, grome	7 yarde	1	3 yarde
James Harman, page	7 yarde	1	3 yarde
			Rauffe

Servauntes

Rauffe Rowlandefon, page	7 yardes	1	3 yardes
Robarte Childerney, fmithe	4 yardes		
The Messingers of the Chambre.			
Adam Gaskin	4 yardes		
Robarte Capon	4 yardes		
Robarte Gromewell	4 yardes		
Will'm Herne	4 yardes		
Frauncis the poste	4 yardes		
The Trumpetors.			
Benedicto Browne, f'jeaunte of trumpettors	7 yardes	2	6 yardes
8 trumpettors, to everye of them 4 yardes	32 yardes		
The Syngers			
John Temple	9 yardes	2	6 yardes
Richarde Atkinson	9 yardes	2	6 yardes
Thomas Kente	9 yardes	2	6 yardes
Will'm Maperley	9 yardes	2	6 yardes
Will'm Tylesley, keper of the standinge wardrobe at Windefore	4 yardes		
Robarte Hobbes, keper of the wardrobe at Moore	4 yardes		
Will'm Griffiths, keper of the wardrobe at Richemonde	4 yardes		
The matte maker yeoman	4 yardes		
Modena maker of the Kinges picture	4 yardes		

The

Servauntes

The hedd Officers of the
Stable.

Sir Edwarde Haltinges, M ^r of the Qwenes horffes	10 yarges	8	24 yarges
Henrye Lighe, cheffe avener	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
John Skinner, the seconde clarke of the avenrye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Nicholas Grene, the 3 ^{de} clarke of the avenrye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Edmonde Standen, clarke of the stable	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

The Qwyries.

Richarde Audeley	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Sir Anthony Browne, knighte	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
Henrye Norrice	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
The lorde Chidiocke Pawlett	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Sir Jaques Granado, knighte	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
Sir George Hawarde, knighte	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
Henrye Partridge	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Barnardyne Granado	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

Serieaunte of the Cariage.

John Ownstedde, ferjeaunte of the cariages	7 yarges	2	6 yarges
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S'ieaunte Ferror.

Thomas Dyxon, ferjeaunte Ferror and Marshall Ferror	7 yarges	2	6 yarges
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Surveiors of the Stable.

John Palmer	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Mighell Grene	9 yarges	3	9 yarges George

Servauntes

George Stafforde	9 yades	3	9 yades
Will'm Brackenburye, gent. ryder	9 yades	3	9 yades

The Footemen.

Edmonde Bowtell	4 yades
Thomas Edmondes	4 yades
John Smithe	4 yades
Richarde Clarke	4 yades
Christopher Bothe	4 yades
Humfrey Colley	4 yades
Edmonde Duke	4 yades

The Ryders.

John Nyxon	9 yades	3	9 yades
John Harrifon	9 yades	3	9 yades
Henrye Webbe	9 yades	3	9 yades
Anthonye Lamberte	9 yades	3	9 yades
John Webbe	9 yades	3	9 yades
Bartholomewe Jeckell	4 yades		
Gylberte Comporte	4 yades		
Henrye Hynde	4 yades		
Henrye Marihe	4 yades		
Will'm Crotenden	4 yades		
Nicholas Durraunte	4 yades		
Will'm Dowley	4 yades		

Officers of the Stable

John Johnfon, yeoman of the male	4 yades
Thomas Griffithe, yeoman of the stirroppe	4 yades

Will'm

Will'm Harrifon, yeoman, fad-
leir 4 yades

John Geynishe, yeoman, peck-
man 4 yades

Will'm Creffente, yeoman, bytt
maker 4 yades

Yeomen Ferrors.

John Dixon 4 yades

Peter Browne 4 yades

John Golightye 4 yades

Will'm Golightlye 4 yades

Yeoman of the Cloofe Carre.

John Darington, yeoman of
the clofe carre of the
roobes 4 yades

Gromes of the styropp.

John Browne 4 yades

Gilberte Johnfon 4 yades

Will'm Hamerton 4 yades

Stephen Prince 4 yades

Grome of the Bottles.

John Henshaw, grome of the
bottles 4 yades

Gromes Ferrors.

John Elmsley 4 yades

Will'm Harpen 4 yades

Martyn Almayn 4 yades

Thomas Marten 4 yades

Gromes of the Cloofe Carre.

Richarde Laurence 4 yades

George Stede 4 yades

Sumptermen

Sumptermen.

John Waterer	4 yards
John Moore	4 yards
Rauffe Johnson	4 yards
John Portes	4 yards
Will'm Browne	4 yards
John Hall	4 yards
John Mapſter	4 yards
Thomas Hawke	4 yards

Muletters.

Robarte Oliver	4 yards
John Dalton	4 yards
Robarte Reade	4 yards
John Baſeley	4 yards
Piero Coffingarde	4 yards
Robarte Barwike	4 yards
Will'm Roſemary	4 yards
Robarte Romaine	4 yards
Cofine Damyan	4 yards

Kepers of Courſers and Jennis,
&c.

Clemente Sandeforde	3 yards
Thomas Bowbye	3 yards
Henry Guylam	3 yards

Courſermen.

Will'm Gumbye	3 yards
Reignolde Brewerton	3 yards
Richarde Hall	3 yards
John Forman	3 yards
Thomas Childe	3 yards
Andrew Dewberye	3 yards

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D d d

John

Servauntes

John Robynfon	3	yardes	
Thomas Beere	3	yardes	
Thomas Wylde	3	yardes	
Roger Bayely	3	yardes	
Richarde Conwey	3	yardes	
John Medwin	3	yardes	
Richarde Smithe	3	yardes	
Morrice Smithe	3	yardes	
Richarde Atkinfon	3	yardes	
Lewes Pecocke	3	yardes	
Anthony Philpotte	3	yardes	
Robarte Cordell	3	yardes	
Rauffe Bolton	3	yardes	
John Preston	3	yardes	
Roger Chester	3	yardes	
Robarte Thomas	3	yardes	
Andrewe Stephens	3	yardes	
George Oxon	3	yardes	
Richarde Herseley	3	yardes	
John Aprice	3	yardes	
Christopher Mawdesley	3	yardes	
Thomas Gylmente	3	yardes	
John Robertts	3	yardes	
Mighell Weede	3	yardes	
Thomas Ogle, gentilman ri- der of the stable	9	yardes	4 9 yardes

Byshoppes and Barons, &c.

Doctör Daye, bishoppe of Chichester, preacher	10	yardes	8 24 yardes
The lorde Saintjohn	10	yardes	8 24 yardes
The lorde Windesore	10	yardes	8 24 yardes
			The

Servauntes

The earle of Bathe	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde Burgaynye	10 yards	8	24 yards
The earle of Oxforde	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde Fitzwarren	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Borroughe	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Barkeley	10 yards	8	24 yards
The earle of Suffex	16 yards	12	36 yards
The lorde Metravers	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Scroope	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Sturton	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Stafforde	10 yards	8	24 yards
The lorde Fitzwater	10 yards	8	24 yards
S ^r Thomas Carden, knighte	10 yards	8	24 yards
S ^r James Crofts, knighte	10 yards	8	24 yards
Mr. Barnabye, gent. of the prevy chamber	10 yards	8	24 yards

Gentilmen Pencyoners.

Thomas Asheley	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edwarde Horne	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edmonde Harvy	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edwarde Grimstone	9 yards	3	9 yards
Chriftopher Lydcocoe	9 yards	3	9 yards
Will'm Palmer	9 yards	3	9 yards
Thomas Averey	9 yards	3	9 yards
Symon Dygbye	9 yards	3	9 yards
Humfrey Coningfbye	9 yards	3	9 yards
John Fyther	9 yards	3	9 yards
John Saundes	9 yards	3	9 yards
Marmaduke Beeke	9 yards	3	9 yards
George Befton	9 yards	3	9 yards
Henry. Poole	9 yards	3	9 yards

D d d 2

George

Serauntes

George Throgmerton	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Thomas Harvy	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
John Pyfter	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
John Digbye	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Robarte Gage	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Edwarde Elrington	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Edwarde Ferreis	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Will'm Worthington	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Will'm Almer	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Baldewin Dowfe	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Thomas Tirrell	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Nicholas Herne	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Richarde Hardyne	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Nicholas Sainctjohn	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Humfrey Bate	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Sir Edmonde Warren, knighte	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

The Henchemen.

The yeoman of the Henchemen 5 yarges di.

9 henchemen for there gowns,
to every of them 4 yarges,
and to every of them oone
cöoate 1 yarde di. 49 yarges di.

Oone seruaunte for them 4 yarges

S' Walter Myldemay, knighte 9 yarges 3 9 yarges

S' Thomas Moyle, knighte 9 yarges 3 9 yarges

The Mynisters of Westm'
Churche.

Twelve Prebendaries, to every
of them 6 yarges 72 yarges

Servauntes

12 Petie Canons, to everye of them 6 yardes	72 yardes		
A Gospellar	5 yardes		
The Episteler	5 yardes		
12 vykars, to every of them 4 yardes	48 yardes		
The Skoolcmaster	4 yardes		
8 Qweristers, to everye of them oone yarde qr.	10 yardes		
2 Sexdcanes, to ether of them 3 yardes	6 yardes		
4 Bell Ringers	12 yardes		
The usher of the Skoole	4 yardes		
Belmayne the Frenche Skoole- master	9 yardes	3	9 yardes
The Officers of Westm' churche.			
Three officers of the same churche, to every of them oone s'vaunte, to every oone servaunte 3 yardes		3	9 yardes
Knyghtes.			
S ^r Thomas Hoolecrofte	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r Thomas Stradlinge	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r Humfrey Radcliffe	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r Fowlke Grevill	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r Nicholas Stourley	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r John Merckam	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r John Sainctelowe	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S ^r John Will'ms.	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
			S ^r

	Servauntes		
S' Gyles Poole	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S' Arthure Darcy	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S' Robarte Drewrye	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
S' Will'm Raynesforthe	9 yardes	4	12 yardes
John Amo, messenger	4 yardes		
The deane of Windfore, regestre of thorder of the garter	9 yardes	3	9 yardes
John Reade, keper of the standinge warderobe at Westm'	7 yardes	1	3 yardes
The Marshalfey.			
The knyghte marshall	9 yardes	3	9 yardes
20 servauntes to attende upon him, for cleringe the waye, to every of them 1 yarde di.	30 yardes		
Trappors for the Haralds at Armes.			
M' Garter principall kinge at armes, for his horffe trappor	6 yardes		
M' Clarentius	6 yardes		
M' Norrey	6 yardes		
Windfore Harralde	4 yardes		
Richarde Harralde	4 yardes		
Somerfett Harralde	4 yardes		
Chester Harralde	4 yardes		
Rouge Dragon	4 yardes		
Rouge Crosse	4 yardes		
Blewe Mantell.	4 yardes		

The

Servauntes

The Paynters.

Anthony Toto, f'jeaunte paynter	7 yarges	1	3 yarges
Nicholas Lyzarde, paynter	4 yarges		
Nicholas Modena, kerver	4 yarges		

The lorde treasorer marqwes of Winchestre, cheff mourner, for his mantell 8 yarges

Therle of Shrewsburye, the earle of Penbrooke, to ether of them for there mantells 6 yarges 12 yarges

7 Pages of honoure.

8 pages of hono' that roode upon the chariott horsfles, to every of them for there gownes 4 yards, for there cooates 1 yarde di. 38 yarges di.

7 menne that leade the 7 chariott horsfles, to every of them oone gowne cont^d 4 yarges. 28 yarges

Ryders of the Stable

Alexander Siggesale	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Alexandre Zynzan	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Hanyball Zinzan	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Anthony Mouche	9 yarges	3	9 yarges

Officers of the Jewell Howse.

John Halil	7 yarges	1	3 yarges
John Kyrkbye	7 yarges	1	3 yarges
			Edmonde

		Servantes	
Edmonde Pygeon	7 yarges	1	3 yarges
Nicholas Bristowe	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
Laurence Bradshawe, fveior of the kinges woorkes	7 yarges	3	9 yarges
Davy Marten the comptrol- ler of the kinges woorkes	7 yarges	2	6 yarges
Nicholas Ellis, M ^r mafon	4 yarges		
John Ruffell, M ^r carpenter	4 yarges		
Richarde Pye, joyner	4 yarges		
John Pincherdowne, the kinges fjeaunte plumer	7 yarges	2	6 yarges
Peter Nicholfon Glasier	4 yarges		
Will'm Grene, cofermaker	4 yarges		
John Grene, coffermaker	4 yarges		
Anthony Silv', the chariott maker	4 yarges		
John Keyme, fmithe	4 yarges		
Thomas Mayneman	4 yarges		
The Kynges, Landres	7 yarges		
John Haywood, sewer of the chambre	9 yarges	2	6 yarges
S ^r Will'm Drewry, knighte	9 yarges	4	12 yarges
S ^r Will'm Goringe, knighte	9 yarges	8	24 yarges
M ^r Leonarde Chambrelen	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
M ^r Raufe Cotton, sewer	9 yarges	3	9 yarges
12 Beedmen of Westm', to every of them 4 yarges	48 yarges		
S ^r Edwarde Haftinges, M ^r of the Qwenes horffe, for his trappor	6 yarges		
6			S ^r

Servauntes

S ^r Edward Waldegrave, knighte, M ^r of the greate wardrobe	10 yards	8	24 yards
Officers of the greate Warde- robe.			
The parson of Sainte Andrewes	4 yards		
Richarde Stoughton, clark of the greate wardrobe	9 yards	3	9 yards
Stephen Hales, deputie to S ^r Rauffe Sadleire	9 yards	3	9 yards
Thomas Cotton	4 yards		
Henry Stoughton	4 yards		
John Bonyarde, yeoman tail- or	4 yards		
Thomas White, porter of the wardrobe	4 yards		
Thomas Laurence, measurer of all the clothe	4 yards		
To 5 other officers attend'unte in the greate wardrobe all the tyme of the faide buriall, to every of them	4 yards	20 yards	
John Bridges	4 yards		
John Bonyarde	4 yards		
Thomas Ackworthe	4 yards		
Frauncis Poope	4 yards		
Thomas Roofe	4 yards		
Will'm Dyxe	9 yards	3	9 yards
Gregorye Richardfon	9 yards	3	9 yards
Vol. XII.	E e e		The

The Ten'nts of the greate
Warderobe.

Hughe Cooke	4 yardes
John Tregos	4 yardes
Arthure Pickman	4 yardes
John Rusbye	4 yardes
Thomas White	4 yardes
Phelippe Banbery	4 yardes
John Warde	4 yardes
Will'm Adamson	4 yardes
John Gurdler	4 yardes
Will'm Foster	4 yardes
Will'm Gryffyn	4 yardes
Will'm Simpson	4 yardes
Will'm Walker	4 yardes
Richarde Crookes	4 yardes

Artificers pteynynge to the
Woorderobe.

John Bridges, the Kinges tay- lor	4 yardes
John Bonyarde, yeoman tay- lor	4 yards
Richarde Brickett, skinner	4 yards
Hughe Eston, hosier	4 yards
Laurence Ball, fylkeman	4 yards
Henrye Arnolde, shomaker	4 yards
John Aylonde, cutler	4 yards
Thomas Doughtye, gurdeler	4 yards
Will'm Browne, spurrier	4 yards
Raphaell Hamonde, capper	4 yards
Launflett Stronge, glover	4 yards

Menne

Servantes

Menne of Armes.

Thomas Weſte	9 yards	3	9 yards
Walter Browne	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edmonde Hungerforde	9 yards	3	9 yards
Thomas Hungerforde	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edmonde Longe	9 yards	3	9 yards
Robarte Meneringe	9 yards	3	9 yards
John Cheyney	9 yards	3	9 yards
Will'm Gybbes	9 yards	3	9 yards
Anthony Harvy	9 yards	3	9 yards
Edwarde Barbor	9 yards	3	9 yards
Richarde Eldin	9 yards	3	9 yards
Rauſſe Stafferton	9 yards	3	9 yards
Richarde Stafferton	9 yards	3	9 yards

Arthure Skarlett, oone of the

Kinges trumpettors 4 yardeſ

Clarkes of the Prevy ſcale.

Mr. Forthe	9 yards	3	9 yards
Mr. Hever	9 yards	3	9 yards
Mr. Turnor	9 yards	3	9 yards
Mr. Clarke	9 yards	3	9 yards
Mr. Cowper	9 yards	3	9 yards

Mr. Henry Sydney, of the

prevy chambre 10 yardeſ 8 24 yardeſ

Toth 9376 yardeſ

The totall of the Deliverye
of the Quenes Ma^{ty} Stoor
for the forſayde Buriall.

Clothe of golde and ſylver
tiſhewd withe golde and
ſylver

20 yardeſ qr. di.

E e e 2

Clothe

Clothe of golde purple	51 yards di. di. qr.	
Clothe of golde blacke withe works	23 yarde	
Velvett blewe jeane	3 yards 3 qr.	
Damaske blewe	2 yarde qr.	
Damaske crimfin	2 yarde qr.	
Sarfcinet grene	3 yards 3 qr.	
Sarfcinet white, at 5s. 8d.	3 yards qr.	18s. 5d.
Satten white, at 11s.	4 yards	£.2. 4s. 0d.

XXVIII. *Observations on the Pusey Horn. By the
Right Honourable Jacob Earl of Radnor.*

Read November 11, 1790.

IN addition to the information respecting the Pusey Horn, published many years since by the Society, the traditional history respecting it may be thought worth noticing. It is as follows: Canute being encamped in the neighbourhood of Pusey, and the Saxons at a few miles distance, the king received intelligence from an officer of his army, who in the disguise of a shepherd had got into the enemy's camp, of an ambuscade formed by the Saxons to intercept him. This intelligence proved true; and the king in consequence escaping the danger, he gave this manor to the officer and his heirs for this service, to hold by the tenure of this horn, which has accordingly been preserved carefully by the proprietors ever since. The Danish camp called *Cberbury* castle, in the hamlet of Charney, and parish of Longworth, not a stone's throw from the boundary of Pusey, and the Saxon camp on the White Horse Hill at about seven miles distance, give an air of probability to the tradition. Its actual authenticity is not impeached by the letters of the inscription being (as they undoubtedly are) of a later date, for it might have been renewed in a subsequent age in the characters then in use, or upon the strength of the tradition, and by way.

way of perpetuating it might have been then affixed to the horn for the first time.

It has been understood that the family assumed their name from, and have always borne the same name as the estate, and it is clear, that a century or two after the supposed grant the name both of the parish and family were *Pefei*, or *Pefey*. The same is true again in the subsequent times, during which both have been called, with scarce any variation, *Pusey*; but it is clear equally in my opinion, that the name of the grantee of the horn is according to the inscription, *Pecote*, though neither in the account of Berkshire in Domesday book (in which there are three articles of *Pefei* in Gannesfelle hundred) does there appear such a parish, nor at either of the Pefeis such a proprietor, nor either in the annexed pedigree (though it contains five generations antecedent to Richard, living 25 Edward I.), nor in any of the writings of the family a single instance of such a name as *Pecote*. This circumstance appears a strong confirmation of the idea, that the inscription is the renewal of the original one, then perhaps so badly decyphered as to be erroneously supposed to be *Pecote*, for otherwise the name, if then first put upon the horn, would probably have been either the one familiar at the time, or at least one which was authorized by family writings or records.

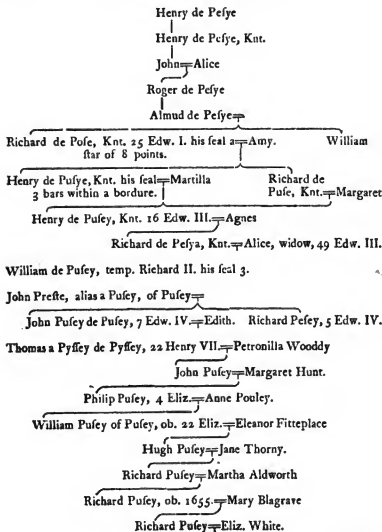
An inscription of the last century (1655), on an altar tomb in the church-yard of Pusey for "Richard Pusey, alias Pefey, Pecote" can be quoted for nothing, except to shew, that the family could then read the inscription on the horn, and had found by their title deeds, that the antient was different from the modern spelling of their name, and that they claimed descent from the grantee of the estate, and its

its several proprietors, notwithstanding the various orthography of the name.

A manuscript memorandum dated 1674, of Mr. Dunch, who enjoyed part of Pusey, says, on the authority of Mr. Fettiplace of Letcombe, a descendant of the original grantee of Pusey, that the grantees were named Pedecot; to which he adds, "briefly called Peasy;" but as this seems hardly possible to have been the abbreviation of the other name, he probably meant to have said "briefly called Pecote." This tradition, however, with respect to the name, seems so unauthorized, that probably it may be ascribed to the inscription on the horn, as the inscription may be to the bad decyphering of the original inscription.

It appears by the account before published, that a chancery suit had been carried on respecting this estate. The following table of the family of Pusey is extracted from a variety of deeds, and from the period to which it is continued, *viz.* to the son of him who died in 1655, seems compiled with a view of authenticating the pedigree at the time of that suit.

Henry



APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

Vol. XII.

F f f

A T A
COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY
O F
A N T I Q U A R I E S,

DECEMBER 11, 1776,

R E S O L V E D,

That such curious communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.

A P P E N D I X.

The Life of Sir GEORGE CARYE, after Earl of TORNES, by himself. Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Wrighte, Secretary.

Read January 9, 1794.

Anno.

- 1555. I was borne upon Wensday y^e 29 day of May.
- 1564. Sent by my parents to y^e univerfity of Oxford.
- 1573. Taken from y^e univerfity.
- 1574. Sent for in to Ireland by y^e old S^r Peter Carew, and y^e fame year a fervant to y^e earl of Warwick.
- 1575. A voluntary in Ireland under the L^o. Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney.
- 1576. In y^e abfence of my brother S^r Peter Carew the younger, his lieutenant governor of the county of Cathar Loghe, and vice conftable in Loghlin caftle.
- 1577. Rewarded for fervice done vpon y^e rebels, wth a penfion of 40^l *per diem*, and ten horfe wthout cheque.
- 1578. A captayn at fea of the admirall fhippe under S^r Humphrey Gilbert in his intended voyage to y^e Weft Indies, and y^e fame year fworne fervant to Queene Elizabeth.
- 1579. A captayn of foote in Ireland.

1580.

1580. Captain of Loughlin castle, and of a troope of horse;
and by my brother's death lord of y^e barony of Odrone;
and y^e same year married.
1582. I went in to the Low Countries wth Monsieur y^e French
Kings brother.
1583. Sherife of y^e county of Catherloge in Ireland.
1584. A gentleman pentioner in court to Queene Elizabeth.
1585. Knighted by S^r John Perrot, and y^e year I fould y^e ba-
rony of Odrone.
1587. Master of the ordenance in Irelande, also y^e year I was
nominated, and had my instructions to goe ambaf-
sador into France, but I excused myself, and S^r Ed-
Wootton, afterwards lord Wootton, was employed
thither in my stead.
1588. Sworne a counsellor of y^e realme of Ireland.
1591. Lictenant of y^e ordinance in England, and continued
master of y^e ordinance in Ireland a year after.
1592. Justice of y^e peace in divers shires in England.
1594. I was nominated to goe ambassador into Scotland to
King James y^e 6th, but by favor of y^e lord tresurer
Burlleigh I was dismist of y^e imployment, and y^e Lo
Boroughts was sent in my roome.
1596. Master of y^e ordenance in Cales voyage.
1597. M^r of y^e ordenance in y^e Island voyage.
1598. In France wth y^e principall secretary S^r Robert Cecill
when he was ambassador.
1599. M^r of y^e ordenance in y^e army y^e was assembled at
London, the earl of Nottingham being designed ge-
neral, and y^e same year I went into Ireland lord pre-
sident of Mounster

1603. I was sent by y^e king wth some others to bring Queene Anne hither
1605. Vice chamberlayn, receiuor general, and sworn a counselor to Queene Anne, and created a baron in parliament.
1608. M^r of y^e ordinance in England.
1609. Keeper of Nonfuch house and park, by grant from Queene Anne, for term of her life.
1610. Governor of y^e Isle of Guernsey.
1611. Sent sole commissioner into Ireland for reformation of the army and improvement of his Ma^{ty} renew.
1616. Sworne a privy counsellore to king James, and a commissioner among others of the lords of the consyl for the government of the kingdom in the absence of the King when he went into Scotland
1618. Keeper of Nonfuch house and park, by grant of King James for terme of my owne life.
1624. Sworne a counsellor of the warre by vertue of an act of parliament.
1625. Sworne a privy counsellor to king Charles, and not many dayes after sworne into his counsellors of warre, and created earle of Totnes.
1626. Treasurer and receaver general to the Queene Henriette Marie.
- Examined Rog. Twyfsden.
1629. He died sans issue, March the 27th.

29 Sept. 4 Edward IV. (A. D. 1465.) De Percussione Monetæ.

From Mr. ASTLE.

Proclamation for regulating the Price of Silver Bullion, and
the Value of the Money of the Kingdom.

Read April 3, 1794.

Rot. Claus. de Anno Regni Regis EDWARDI Quarti Quarto. m. 20.

De Proclamationibus faciendis.

REX vicecomitibus London' salutem. Precipimus vobis quod statim post receptionem prefencium in singulis locis infracivitatem predictam ubi melius videritis expediri publicam proclamationem factam in forma sequenti. Whereas late agoowr Sov'aigne Lord the Kinge, Edward by the grace of God Kinge of Englaunde and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland, by considerac'on of the scarcite of money within this his reame, of lyklyhode amonges other things caused of lak of bryngyng of bolion into his myntes, which, as is conceived, is by cause that tho that shuld bringe bolion, may have more for their bolion in other princes myntes than in his. Willynge fuche causes to be remoeved, and to encrece and multiplie his coigne to the com'ne wele of all this his land and subiectis of the same, by proclamac'on in div's parties of this land, ordeigned and provided, that ev'y person that wold bringe silver in bolion plate or otherwise into his mynte within his Towre of London, where as afore tyme he shuld have taken and toke for lb. of silv' of the fynesse of a grote rennyng but xxjxs. sterlinge, shall mowe nowe rescyve clerely of ev'y lb. weight

weight of suche silv' at his seid mynte xxxiijs. sterlinges of the same synesse and allaye, so clerely have more than he had byfore in ev'y unce by iiij*d.* and in grete in the lb. iijs. as all att large was declared in the same proclamacions. The same our Sov'aigne Lord to thentent aboveseid, for many grete and 'spi'all causes and conseederacions conc'nyng the wele and prosperite of this land and his subgettez of the same, whos welfare and increce is unto him the grettest comfort that may be, hath now ordeigned and provided, and so provideth and ordeigneth, that immediately after the terme and space of xv days next after this proclamacion every noble of gold which now goith for vi*s.* viii*d.* shall from thensforth be and renne in all man' of paymentis to and for the value of viijs. iiij*d.* sterlings, and in likewise after the same rate and afferant the half noble and the ferthing of gold, that is to sey, the half noble iijs. ii*d.* and the ferthing of gold ii*s.* i*d.* Willing and in the straytest wyse com'aundyng all man' of men whatsoev' they be, to observe fulfille and kepe this his provision and ordinaunce made for the comune gode and welfare of all this his land as is above reherfed. And to thentent to eschewe all man' difficultez doubttez and ambiguitez that paraventur myght falle in mennys myndez in this partie our seid Sov'igne Lord the Kinge, accordyng to the custume that of old tyme hath bene used in this his land, and yet is, willethe and ordeigneth that iij grotes shall make a shilling, vj half grotez a shilling, xij*d.* whiche shalbe called sterlings a shilling, xxiiij half penys a shilling, xlvij ferthings a shilling, and xxs. shall make a pounce, and xiijs. iiij*d.* shall make a mark. And over this howe it be, owr seid Sov'igne Lord the Kinge div's tymez sith the begynnyng of his reigne hath be moved for the com'unc and univ'sale wele of this his land, and subgettis to the thingez above reherfed, whiche after longe sadde and ripe delib'a-

cion and and coi'cacions had with men of grete wisedome and experience in such behalfe as well marchauntez as other, hath be and ben advised and concluded by our seid Sov'aigne Lord and the lordes of his counsell, for the wele and profite of his land and subgettis. Yit that notwithstanding it is conceivid, that div'rs persons for their private and singuler lucre caste and fowe div'rs sedicious langage, to th'entent to lette the seid ordinaunce made be so grete advis and so hurte the common welfare of all this land entended by our seid sov'igne and his counseill. Wherefore the same our Sov'igne Lord, well and in the straytest wyse chargeth, that from hensforth noo man' of man, of what estate, degre, or condicion so ever he bee, take upon him by such man' o langage, or other wyse, to hurt trouble or lette or any occasion of lette, geve unto the seid ordinaunce so for the comune wele made as is above reherfed, uppon the danger and perell that he may falle in towards the kinge, and upon payne of all that he may forsaite unto him. And if there be eny persone whatsoever he be, that thinketh that he hath sufficient matter and reasons for hym necessarily concludyng the seid ordinaunce not to be for the comune wele of the lande and subgettes, but rather a losse and hurte, the Kinge welle and straitly chargeth, that he come before hym and his counsail, and declare and shewe them. And in case it can be understand and founde so to be, our said Sov'igne Lord the Kinge will with all diligence provide for a due and undelaied remedye in that behalfe. And he that sheweth and declareth suche matter and reasons shall be benignely herd and have right a goode thanke. Et hoc sub periculo quod ineumbit nullatenus omittatis. T. R. apud Redyng xxix die Septembr'.

Per Breve de privato sigillo.

Con-

Consimilia brevia diriguntur vicecomitibus, comitibus, &c.
 locorum subscriptorum, sub eadem data; videlicet.

Vic' Midd'.	Vic' Lincoln'.
Vic' Kant'.	Viccomitibus Civitatis Linc'.
Vic' Surr' & Suffex'.	Vic' Rotel'.
Vic' Suth'.	Vic' Hereford'.
Vic' Ville Suthampton.	Vic' Salop'.
Vic' Som' & Dorf'.	Vic' Staff'.
Vic' Devon'.	Cancellario R' Com. Palatini
Vic' Cornub'.	R' Lancastre'.
Vic' Wiltes'.	Carissimo Confanguineo R'
Vic' Oxon' & Berk'.	Ricardo Comiti Warr', Cuf-
Vic' Ville Bristoll'.	todi Quinq' Portuu' fuor',
Vic' Glouc'.	feu ejus Locum tenenti, ib.
Vic' Wygorn'.	Vic' Ville de Kyngeston fu-
Vic' Warr' & Leyc'.	per Hull.
Vic' Northt'.	Vic' Ebor'.
Vic' Civitatis Coventr'.	Viccomitibus Civitatis Ebor'.
Vic' Bed' & Buk'.	Viccomitibus Norwic'.
Vic' Cantebr' & Hunt'.	Vic' Ville Novi Castri super
Vic' Essex' & Hertf'.	Tynam.
Vic' Norff' & Suff'.	Vic' Westm'l'.
Vic' Notyng' & Derb'.	Vic' Cumbr'.
Vic' Ville Notyng'.	Vic' Northumbr.
	Vic' Civitatis Cantuar'.

Read May 15, 1794.

The Bracelet, Plate LI. fig. 1. was found upon the wrist of the skeleton of a full sized man, about two yards under ground by the road side in Westwang field, in the East Riding of the county of York, by some workmen who were digging for materials to mend the road. The skeleton was laid at full length with every bone in its proper place, and in good preservation. Some teeth which dropped out of the scull were perfectly fresh. In the intrenchments which divide and dissect in every direction the high wolds of that part of Yorkshire, skeletons, the heads of broken spears, arrows, and other remnants of ancient weapons and armour are frequently found.

M. S Y K E S.

Extract of a Letter to the President.

Read November 6, 1794.

MY LORD,

I take the liberty of inclosing to your lordship a drawing of an ancient Sword or Dagger, lately found amongst a quantity of old iron in a smith's shop in Durham. Plate LI. fig. 4.

Length of the handle from A to B 5 inches.

Length of the blade from C to D 15 inches $\frac{1}{2}$; width 1 in. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Length of the guard from E to F 3 inches.

It is all of iron, of very rude workmanship, and, by the inscription on the blade, it is evident it has belonged either to *Anthony Beck* bishop of Durham (Anno 1283) himself, or to some one of his military attendants. The inscription is engraven of the original size.

The



2.

13.



The Guard



Fig. 5 p. 409.



OLM

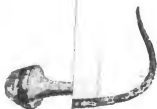


Fig. 6 p. 411.



The handle is greatly bruised and otherwise defaced through length of time, and now appears hollow, as represented in the drawing; but it is probable that there has been within the four iron bars or ribs a wooden handle, which has rotted away. This sword is now preserved in Durham cathedral, and is double edged.

The inscription is fac simile; and if your lordship should be pleased to think it worth communicating to the Antiquarian Society, to be engraved, it will greatly oblige,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
Durham, and devoted humble Servant,
Sept. 22, 1794. JOHN LAMBERT.

Read December 11, 1794.

Burlington Street, December 11, 1794

SIR,

Herewith I send you a ring belonging to Lady Dorothea Hotham, and by her favour allowed to be exhibited by me at this meeting of the Society.

It was ploughed up about three years ago, in a field near Dalton House, three miles from Beverley in Yorkshire, the seat of the Hotham family.

The stone set in it is a species of the Tricolor Sardonyx, and the impression on it a very beautiful Janus's head.

The characters round the ring are supposed to be the old French*.

I am, Sir,

Rev. Mr. Brand,
Secretary.

Your most obedient humble Servant,
 JOHN WOODD.

* See Plate Ll. fig. 5.

Read

Read December 10, 1795.

Hedingham Castle, Essex, December 1, 1795.

The two Hawks' Rings, Plate LLfig. 7, were found close to a hop ground about a quarter of a mile from this castle, and near the lodge of the ancient little park belonging to it, many years since converted into a farm.

This hop ground is in a low bottom, enclosed by two hills, with a stream of water constantly running through it, which, before the ground was employed in the present culture, was confined by sluices, forming several ponds, or stews, to preserve or fatten fish, a branch of luxury very necessary to our ancestors before the Reformation, and practised with an attention and expence now in disuse.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that one of these rings, passed over the claws of a young hawk, would remain on its leg a permanent mark of the proprietor.

They are flat and circular, and appear to be of fine silver, one of them is also gilt; rings, indeed, of a form precisely similar to these, have been found of gold.

The inscription on both is the same, and on both equally legible,

“ Ox—en—for—de,”

the manner in which the ancient family of De Vere, during so many centuries, possessors of this castle and honor, usually signed their title of earl.

They

They are inscribed on one side only, the other being quite plain, but it is not unusual to see them with an inscription on both [a].

The amusement of hawking seems so generally neglected at this day, that if we except the partial attention bestowed upon it by the late earl of Orford, and perhaps a few more, it may be considered as no longer entitled to a place in the list of our field sports; yet, in most of our modern leases, a clause is generally still to be found, reserving to the landlord the free liberty of hunting, "*hawking*," and fowling, with other exceptions of a similar nature. I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant,
LEWIS MAJENDIE.

Read January 14, 1796.

Hedingham Castle, Essex, January 1, 1796.

The Gold Ring, Plate LLfig. 6, was discovered about ten years since in the Home Park at Windsor, by one of the labourers employed by his Majesty in lowering and removing the earth called the Bowling Green, immediately adjoining

[a] As in the ring found near Biggleswade, which was of gold, and inscribed on one side "*sum Regis Anglie*," and, on the reverse, "*et comitis Herefordie*." See Gentleman's Magazine for June 1795, page 474.

the East terrace of the castle. Its form, and workmanship, shew it to be of no modern date.

The weight of the ring is four penny weights and four grains; the gold of which it is made does not appear to be fine [a], but the inferiority of the material is fully supplied by the elegant workmanship bestowed upon it. The upper part of the ring exhibits a neatly engraved pedestrian armed figure with wings, representing St. Michael slaying the dragon, and the beaded wreath on the lower part, together with the ornaments on each side, are elegantly executed.

It may have belonged to some foreign or English knight of the order of Saint Michael in France; or, from the particular place in which it was discovered, it may without great improbability have been the property of one of those knights of the garter who appear to have received the order of Saint Michael [b]; but, in either case, it must be considered as a mere personal ornament of the wearer, that is, not as belonging to the ceremonial dress of the order; for, although "a gold ring" was one of the ensigns of the Equestrian order among the Romans [c], it clearly appears not to have constituted any part of the inauguration ceremony of the order of Saint

[a] An eminent goldsmith informs me, that though the precise quality of the gold cannot be ascertained without an assay, he is of opinion that it is not fine, or of more value than about three pounds per ounce.

[b] The order of St. Michael was instituted in France by Lewis the Eleventh, in 1469, into which many persons of high distinction in this country were admitted, as King Henry the Eighth, Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, both buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor. King Edward the Sixth, Thomas duke of Norfolk, Robert earl of Leicester, Sir Nicholas Clifford, Sir Anthony Shirley, and others; but of these all, except the two last, were knights of the Garter. See Ashmole and Astell, *passim*.

[c] Ashmole, edit. 1693, page 24, et seq.

Michael

Michael [*d*]; nor of that of the Garter [*e*], nor indeed of any of the other more modern orders of knighthood [*f*].

There is an oral tradition, that the spot where this ring was found was formerly the scene of tilts and tournaments before the sovereign of the order of the garter; if so, it is not improbable, that it may have dropped from the finger of one of the combatants during a contest of this nature, and have remained unnoticed for more than two centuries. The taste and neat execution of the workmanship will hardly authorize an opinion of more remote antiquity.

LEWIS MAJENDIE.

November 28, 1796.

Lieutenant Colonel Matthew Smith exhibited the Roman *Patera* engraved Pl. LI. fig. 2. dug up in August last, out of the earth in Great Tower-street, at the top of Beer-lane, a little below Barking church, in a bed of fine gravel, ten feet below the surface of the ground, which had been opened in order to make a sewer. The interior diameter is 6 inches and a half, depth 2 inches, height 2 inches 3 quarters. The inscription on the rim (fig. 3.) commemorates the potter.

[*d*] *Anstis*, vol. I. p. 70, note p.

[*e*] *Ashmole*, p. 202, et seq.

[*f*] *Ibid.* p. 30.

Read January 27, 1796.

Fig. 8, Plate LL represents an ancient Instrument of Brass, resembling Gold, communicated by Philip Raffleigh, Esq. M. P. found at the bottom of a mine near the river Fowey, ten fathoms under the surface of the earth, where a new work was begun for searching after tin ore.

The substance of this instrument, with a piece of amber set at one end, and the great depth at which it was found, are evident marks of great antiquity, and leave but little doubt of its having belonged to ancient Britons or Druids. Great quantities of wood cover the banks of the river where this hook was found.


The celebrated golden hooks (as they have been usually called), for pulling down and gathering mistletoe, were probably neither gold or made to cut, as the softness of gold made that metal very unfit for such purposes; the resemblance which this bears to gold might give it that name.

From these circumstances there is little reason to doubt of this instrument having been a Druid's hook, for gathering mistletoe.

. The circumstance of the *golden sickle* of the Druids rests entirely on the authority of Pliny, N. H. XVI. 96, where Dr.

Borlase suggested no mistake [*a*]; but Dr. Lort [*b*] suggested a query, whether we should not read *acrea* instead of *aurea*, as Virgil [*c*] expressly says, herbs for magical purposes were cut with *brænen* sickles, *falcibus æbenis*, where the name of the metal cannot be affected by any various reading. The polish which the metal of these old British instruments takes gives them the appearance of gold. Enough has been said by various writers on the mixed metal used by our ancestors, which, according to Mr. Alchorne's analysis, consisted chiefly of copper interperfed in particles of iron, and perhaps some zinck, but without containing either gold or silver [*d*]; to which Governor Pownall adds [*e*], that the apparent properties of the metal are, that it is of a texture which takes an exquisite fine polish, and in its colour exhibits more of the colour of gold than of brass or copper.

R. G.



Thursday, June 4, 1795.

Owen Salusbury Brereton, esq. Vice President, communicated a drawing of a stone ornament in an outside wall of the Deanery house at Windsor, made by Henry Emlyn, esq. of that place, architect. The date at the top is plainly 1500, though part of the 5 has been defaced. The inscription is perfect "Cristofero Urswyk, decano." Plate LII.

[*a*] Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 288.[*b*] Arch. V. p. 111. note f.[*c*] Æn. lV. 513.[*d*] Arch. III. p. 335.[*e*] lb. p. 356.

H h h 2

Christo-

Christopher Urfwic was installed dean of Windsor in 1495, and lived many years in the next century. The portcullis and rose are the well-known badges of Henry VII. The supporters, a griffin and greyhound belong also to that reign, as appears by the wooden cut of the royal arms prefixed to Henry the Seventh's Life in Hall's Chronicle.



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E R R A T A.

Vol. XI. p. 430, l. 11, for "with what Mr. Deacon calls a red China plate," &c. read "with what Mr. Deacon's account (in an old hand, probably written by the person that found the scarabæus, and which is wrapped up with it) calls a red China plate," &c.

Vol. XII.

P. 36, l. 12, read *maritandis*.

P. 132, l. 1, for XIV. read XV.

P. 144, l. 6, for *Eduard* read *Henry*.

P. 153, l. 16, for *double* read *dotted*.

P. 159, l. 15,	" diam. height. di.	dia. height. di.
	" ft. in. ft. in.	ft. in. ft. in. in.
	" 3 3 13=0 4"	should be 3 3 13 0=4
	" 2 4 14=6 2"	should be 2 4 14 2=6+2

P. 195, l. 13, for *Cicill* read *Cecil*.

P. 207, l. 4, read 1795.

P. 297, l. 10, for *eminent* read *antient*.

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